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# CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION

PROCEEDINGS

1907

(VOLUME V)

WITH RULES AND  
LIST OF MEMBERS

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# CONTENTS

PAGE

## PROCEEDINGS OF THE FIFTH GENERAL MEETING:—

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 18TH, 1907 . . . . .	1
SATURDAY, OCTOBER 19TH, 1907 . . . . .	8

MR. S. H. BUTCHER: "GREEK AND THE CLASSICAL RENAISSANCE OF TO-DAY" . . . . .	33
--	----

PROFESSOR W. G. HALE: "THE HERITAGE OF UNREASON IN SYNTACTICAL METHOD" . . . . .	53
--	----

MISS J. E. HARRISON: "THE PILLAR AND THE MAIDEN" . . . . .	65
--	----

MR. R. M. DAWKINS: "THE EXCAVATIONS OF THE BRITISH SCHOOL AT ATHENS" . . . . .	79
--	----

MR. W. WARDE FOWLER: "THE DECAY OF ROMAN HOME LIFE SHOWN FROM THE HISTORY OF THE ROMAN HOUSE" . . . . .	83
---	----

INDEX TO THE PROCEEDINGS . . . . .	93
------------------------------------	----

INTERIM REPORT OF THE PRONUNCIATION COMMITTEE ON THE PRONUNCIATION OF GREEK . . . . .	95
---	----

REPORT OF THE CURRICULA COMMITTEE ON THE TEACHING OF LATIN IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS . . . . .	98
---	----

STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS TO DECEMBER 31ST, 1907	112
--	-----

## APPENDIX:—

ADDRESS TO THE ITALIAN SOCIETY FOR THE DIFFUSION AND ENCOURAGEMENT OF CLASSICAL STUDIES . . . . .	117
OFFICERS AND COUNCIL . . . . .	119
RULES . . . . .	121
NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF MEMBERS, 1908 . . . . .	123
TOPOGRAPHICAL LIST OF MEMBERS . . . . .	161





## FIFTH GENERAL MEETING, CAMBRIDGE, 1907

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 18TH.

AT 2.30 p.m. the President (Mr. S. H. BUTCHER, M.P.) took the chair, and called on Professor R. S. CONWAY to move the adoption of the Report of the Committee on the Pronunciation of Greek.<sup>1</sup>

Professor CONWAY began by expressing the feelings of the old students of Cambridge who were met under the shelter of their old University to discuss the studies which they loved. He proceeded:

“The subject which I am to bring before you on behalf of the Committee is not unimportant in the present position of classical studies. Teachers of Classics are now subject to much fiercer competition than ever before, and it behoves us to lay aside every weight of prejudice and the effect of custom which doth so easily beset us. This Association has already done a great service to Classics by the resolution passed last year in favour of the restored pronunciation of Latin; and the Committee felt bound, in logical sequence and in common sense, to proceed at once to the question of Greek. It has done so, and the result is the present scheme, which is put forward, not as complete or final, but as approximate and practicable. If it errs, it errs on the side of moderation. As a member of the Council said to me, there is not enough in these proposals to frighten a mouse. If any one here is frightened, let him consider exactly what it is that he fears.

“What is to be said for the present practice? Why should

<sup>1</sup> The Report is printed on p. 95.

you teach a boy to pronounce a Latin word right—say *mūsa*—and then, when he begins Greek, suddenly ask him to pronounce it like the English *mouser*? Why should he pronounce the same word one way in Virgil and another in Homer? Such a contradiction must puzzle the most intelligent schoolboy; such inconsistency must defeat itself.

“A child who has been pronouncing Latin correctly for three or four years will need next to no instruction in the correct pronunciation of Greek. For twelve years I have used this new pronunciation of Greek both in teaching Greek and in quoting it in Latin lessons, and I have never failed to make myself understood. Why should boys be in doubt whether *τέλω* or *τίνω* is meant, simply because for the last three centuries the influence of the English accent has had a powerful influence to change the vowel sounds? The two words are perfectly easy to distinguish. The Committee do not think it impossible for an English schoolboy to acquire a correct pronunciation even of the open *e*, as in the French word *mère*, still less of the *ω*. But, though possible, it is difficult. In Scotland, indeed, and in some parts of England, the open *e* is common; but elsewhere, notably in London and the south, the open vowels are rare. In view of such local difficulties, a purely voluntary association like ours can only set forth the true sounds, and, if some teachers cannot overcome the force of habit, we must wait till they die out. If a schoolmaster feels that he cannot make use of our information, we only ask that he will let his boys know the facts.

“With regard to *η* and *ει*, we cannot say exactly to what part of the palate the tongue was drawn near in producing *ει*; but we know that the sound was nearer to the diphthong of the French *fée* than to that of the English *eye* (the Welsh *ei* is an intermediate sound). Here then we do the best we can; and for the sake of differences important to maintain, such as that between Indicative and Subjunctive, we do not altogether prohibit the pronunciation of *ει* like the English *eye*.

“Then there is *υ* : a difficult sound, perhaps, to introduce ; yet in most schools children now learn to pronounce the French *u* from the age of six, and why should they not make the same sound in Greek later on ? A subsidiary advantage will be that they will no longer be perplexed by the *y* in the Latin forms of Greek words.

“To confirm what I said of the importance of pronunciation, may I, in closing, quote a remark made to me the other day by a business man in Manchester ? He said, ‘I have sent my boy to three schools in succession, and with every change of school he was obliged to change his pronunciation of Latin. Your Association, by settling a uniform pronunciation, removes the reproach that teachers of Latin do not know the subject they profess to teach.’

“One thing is certain, that there will be no peace in the educational world till some reasonable scheme is adopted for a uniform and correct pronunciation of Greek. The Committee has done its best to take practical difficulties into account ; and I appeal to you, on behalf of the Committee, not to put back the clock. Do not say, ‘Last year we corrected our Latin, but we would rather be incorrect in Greek a little longer.’ That is not fair to the children. When they have learned to pronounce Latin correctly, and pass on to a far more beautiful language, whose literature is one of the treasures of the world, surely we must not put a ridiculous hindrance in their way.”

Mr. W. G. RUSHBROOKE, who was called upon to second the motion, wished very heartily to support it on behalf of the schools in which the restored pronunciation was in use. In the four or five years since its adoption at St. Olave’s no difficulty had been found ; the work of the beginners was simplified by it, and the elder boys, as soon as it was introduced to them, had taken it up with enthusiasm.

Professor E. A. SONNENSCHN.—“I am entirely in sympathy with the idea of reform ; but I should like to call attention to the fact that this scheme is put forward for general adoption, and the sounds are set down as ‘approxima-



tions which for teaching purposes may be regarded as practicable.' In the main the Committee has undoubtedly been very successful in reconciling theory with practice; but I do not agree with the sounds recommended for  $\eta$  and  $\omega$ , scientifically correct as they are. Professor Conway says we have no compulsory powers; true, but we have a very great responsibility—and if we recommend the adoption of sounds which will cause pupils and teachers much labour to acquire, some conscientious persons will try to carry out our recommendations literally, and the question will arise whether the game is worth the candle. In practice I think it sufficient if teachers and pupils use for  $\eta$  and  $\omega$  the same sounds as we recommended for  $\bar{e}$  and  $\bar{o}$  in Latin, namely, the close  $\bar{e}$ , as in 'prey,' and the close  $\bar{o}$ , as in 'note.' The open sounds do not naturally rise to the pupil's lips, except perhaps in reading the line of Kratinos:

ὁ δ' ἡλίθιος ὥσπερ πρόβατον "βῆ βῆ" λέγων βαδίξει.

He does not naturally pronounce ὥδῃ as *aredä*. Why? Because in most modern European languages the long *e* and *o* tend to be close vowels, as the short *e* and *o* tend to be open. In Greek, unfortunately, it is the other way about. It is only when  $\eta$  and  $\omega$  come before  $\rho$  that we are by nature disposed to give them the open sounds—*e.g.* in ἦρως, ὥρα (as in 'there' and 'bore'). Further, the recommendation of the Committee involves a different treatment of corresponding letters in Greek and Latin; we should have to pronounce *legō* and *rēs* with the close  $\bar{o}$  and  $\bar{e}$ , λέγω and ῥαῖς with the open  $\bar{o}$  and  $\bar{e}$ . In regard to  $\epsilon$  and  $o$ , the Committee does not recommend the scientifically correct sounds, close  $\bar{e}$  and close  $\bar{o}$ ; and quite rightly, because these sounds are difficult for English lips to produce. The principle that practice has claims as well as science was recognised by our President in introducing the Report on Latin Pronunciation last year; and it is emphatically endorsed by Blass in his book on Greek pronunciation (English translation, p. 27). From this point of view I feel doubtful also about the pronuncia-

tion of *v* as the French *u*, but I shall reserve criticism till  $\eta$  and  $\omega$  have been considered."

PROFESSOR J. W. MACKAIL.—"I think that if the report of the Committee is accepted as amended in this particular, we shall be in a better position towards a real and practical reform. In point of fact, the arguments for the amendment seem to me to have been put very clearly and decisively by Professor Conway. The gist of his speech was that we should so organise the reform of Greek pronunciation, that a boy who has been learning Latin already should have little fresh to learn in pronunciation when he begins Greek. In the next few years the reformed Latin pronunciation will probably be all but universal. As soon as that has happened, it is obvious that the natural tendency of things will be that Greek pronunciation will follow Latin pronunciation. Is it wise, even in order to gain additional scientific accuracy, to put a stumbling-block in the way of that natural process? The question is not so much what you can do in teaching boys, and what they can do with their vocal organs, as what is worth doing; and it would be a stumbling-block to the boys if they have a separate set of rules for the pronunciation of these vowels in Greek. I am not at all certain that in schools which have adopted the new system of Latin pronunciation the signs assigned to long *e* and long *o* are actually being followed. It is likely that these schools anglify them, and if so, the case will be the same in Greek. When we have got reformed pronunciation in both languages established, we can then proceed to make it more accurate. In the meantime, the great thing is to get it introduced."

MR. F. M. CORNFORD suggested that the restored pronunciation of Greek should be introduced in the schools gradually, first into the lower forms and later into the higher, and that, in order to encourage the schools to adopt the reform, University teachers be asked to introduce the restored pronunciation in the Michaelmas term of 1910. The only way to start the new pronunciation was to carry it up through

the schools, and then let the Universities take it up a few years hence.

Dr. J. E. SANDYS recounted the history of Greek pronunciation in Cambridge. In 1528 Erasmus published his dialogue between the Lion and the Bear, and from 1535 onwards the Erasmian pronunciation was gradually introduced in Cambridge by Thomas Smith, John Cheke, and Roger Ascham, until in 1542 the Chancellor, Stephen Gardiner, decreed a prompt return to the old Byzantine pronunciation. This decree was rigorously enforced in 1554, but, after the accession of Elizabeth, the Erasmian pronunciation came into general use in England. "By this revived pronunciation," says Sir Thomas Smith, "were displayed the flower and the fulness of the Greek language, the variety of sounds, the grandeur of diphthongs, the majesty of long vowels, the luminous order and the grace of distinct speech." It should be noticed that the old Erasmian pronunciation of the *vowels* was the same as that already in use in France, while the modern English pronunciation of the vowels is the same as that of the English vowels. The report of the Committee was welcome as practically advocating a return to the true Erasmian pronunciation, as opposed to the present degenerate English variety of it.

"As to the report itself," Dr. Sandys proceeded, "under the heading of *Quantity* on page 1 there is a certain infelicity in saying that the short vowels are to be distinguished from the long vowels by *prolongation*. We should transpose the two clauses, thus: 'The long vowels should be carefully distinguished from the short vowels by prolongation and not by stress.' Under the consonants, there is no suggestion as to the pronunciation of ζ. Finally, on the last line of the last page, I notice 'the word χθονός is pronounced with one aspirate only.' Does this mean that it *is* so pronounced, and if so, by whom? or that it *ought* to be so pronounced, and if so, how? What is the exact meaning of 'aspirate' in this phrase? Ought the word to be pronounced *chthonos*, or *ch-tonos*, or *ch-t-honos*?



"I congratulate the Committee on their caution in deferring the difficult question of accent. So far as it goes, the report, I think, deserves approval; but it needs some slight revision. I trust that the Committee will proceed with their work, and bring it to a successful conclusion."

Mrs. AGNES LEWIS drew attention to the pronunciation of the diphthong *ευ*. On more than one ancient inscription, and on the very latest papyri discovered in Egypt, we find the word βασιλεύς written βασιλεfs; and in every nation where the everlasting Gospel has been preached, in English and in Latin, it is called the *Evangel*, or *Evangelium*. Why then in Greek alone are we not to be allowed to pronounce it *Evangelion*?

The Rev. A. SLOMAN suggested that an appendix should be added to the Report, saying how aspirates were pronounced at the beginning of words.

Professor R. M. BURROWS deprecated the idea that there should be one standard for the teacher and another for the pupil. It was far better for the teacher to waive a little of his theoretical correctness, if the pupil could not be expected to make a particular sound. An eminent lecturer on philology at Oxford could not account for his failure in teaching the *o* sounds, till he looked at his best student's note-book and found that he had consistently written *ὦς* as 'horse.'

After short speeches by Mr. A. B. COOK, Professor W. RIDGEWAY, and Mr. A. J. F. COLLINS,

The Rev. W. C. COMPTON said that, if the Committee reconsidered its Report, he hoped that the usual pronunciation of ζ as a double consonant would be maintained. To go back to the simple sound of *z* would be a loss.

The Rev. Dr. W. A. HEARD said that in Scotland the practice was to make the pronunciation of Greek and Latin as nearly alike as possible. Schools had a very practical way of getting rid of stumbling-blocks, and he hoped that the recommendations of the Report would be carried out.

After some further debate, Mr. A. E. BERNAYS suggested

that the Report should be referred to the Committee for reconsideration ; and it was proposed by Professor RIDGEWAY, seconded by Mr. E. HARRISON, and carried *nem. con.* :

“That the general principle embodied in the Report be approved, but that certain points be reserved for future consideration.”

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At 4.45 p.m. the Association met again in the Senate House, when the PRESIDENT delivered an address on “Greek and the Classical Renaissance ‘of To-day,’”<sup>1</sup> and Professor W. G. HALE, of the University of Chicago, read a short paper on “The Heritage of Unreason in Syntactical Method.”<sup>2</sup>

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At 9 p.m. the members were received by the Vice-Chancellor of the University (the Rev. E. S. ROBERTS, Master of Gonville and Caius) and Mrs. STEWART ROBERTS and by the PRESIDENT of the Association, in the Hall and Combination Rooms of Gonville and Caius College and in the Master’s Lodge. In the course of the evening short lectures, illustrated by lantern-slides, were given by Miss J. E. Harrison, Litt.D., Fellow of Newnham, on “The Pillar and the Maiden,”<sup>3</sup> and by Mr. R. M. Dawkins, Fellow of Emmanuel and Director of the British School at Athens, on “The Excavations of the British School at Athens”<sup>4</sup>; and Mr. Clive CAREY, of Clare, recited the *parabasis* of the *Birds* of Aristophanes, with a pianoforte accompaniment by Dr. CHARLES WOOD.

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#### SATURDAY, OCTOBER 19th

At 9.45 a.m. the Association met in the Senate House, and Mr. W. WARDE FOWLER read a short paper on “The Decay of Roman Home Life, illustrated by the History of the Roman House.”<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> P. 33.

<sup>2</sup> P. 53.

<sup>3</sup> P. 65.

<sup>4</sup> P. 79.

<sup>5</sup> P. 83.

At 10.30 the minutes of the last General Meeting were taken as read. Apologies for absence from the meeting were received from Sir Archibald Geikie, Vice-President, and the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford (Dr. T. H. Warren). Professor SONNENSCHN (Honorary Secretary) read the Report of the Council for 1907, as follows:—

“The Council has much satisfaction in reporting that the increase in the number of members and the progress of the Association’s work in various directions indicate that the Association is full of life and vigour and may safely look forward to a period of continued prosperity in the future. At the general meeting of October, 1906, the membership stood at about 1,140: it now stands at about 1,250.

“The membership of the two Local Branches of Manchester and Birmingham has increased, and additional local correspondents have been appointed for Adelaide, S. Australia; Cambridge (Christ’s, Clare, Jesus, King’s, Magdalene, Pembroke, Sidney Sussex and Trinity Colleges); Oxford (Exeter, Hertford, Jesus, Merton, New, Queen’s and St. John’s Colleges). There are now altogether 48 local correspondents, viz. at Aberystwith; Bangor; Bedford College, London; Bradford; Brighton; Bromley; Cambridge (11); Canterbury; Cardiff; Cheltenham (2); Dublin (2); Englefield Green; Galway; King’s College, London; Kensington; Leeds; Liverpool; Oxford (10); Sheffield; Wimbledon; Winchester; Windsor; Adelaide, S. Australia; Columbia University, U.S.A.; Rangoon; Vassar College, U.S.A.; Upper Canada College, Toronto.

“The Council has been glad to hear that the movement for creating a Classical Association for Ireland has made considerable progress during the past year and promises to lead to a successful issue in the near future, and it congratulates the scholars, representative of very varied educational interests in Ireland, who have taken a leading part in the movement. The Council has also heard with pleasure of a proposal to establish a Classical Association in South Africa.



“Last year the Association petitioned the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge ‘to take into consideration the abolition of the separate Greek Grammar paper at Responsions and the Previous Examination respectively, and the substitution for it of an easy paper in unprepared translation.’ The University of Cambridge has abolished the separate paper on Greek and Latin Grammar, and the questions in Grammar are now included in the papers on the set books or in the equivalent paper, and are such as arise from or are suggested by the passages given for translation. (Grace of the Senate, January 17th, 1907.) The Hebdomadal Council of the University of Oxford has accepted the principle of the petition of the Classical Association and has drafted a statute embodying it—that is to say, providing that the examinations in the Greek and Latin languages in Responsions shall consist of translation of unprepared passages into English, together with questions on grammar arising out of the passages selected for translation. This statute will very shortly be brought before the University.

“Special facilities were offered to members for an Easter tour to Italy and Rome; but owing to the circumstances that the University vacations and the public school holidays fell at different times, only a comparatively small number availed themselves of them. Those who did appear to have been quite satisfied with their experiences and to have gratefully appreciated the assistance and information which Dr. Ashby, the Director, and other officials of the British School at Rome placed at their disposal.

“About the same time the newly founded Italian Society, which corresponds to the Classical Association, held its second congress in Rome. A Latin address of sympathy and congratulation, written by Dr. Postgate, was presented by Dr. Ashby and appreciatively received.<sup>1</sup>

“The Executive Committee of the Manchester Branch has discovered Roman remains of the first century, only six feet below the present surface, on an unoccupied site in the centre

<sup>1</sup> This address is printed on p. 117.

of Manchester, and this aroused great local interest. The sum of £450 to complete the excavation and publish the results was raised at a public meeting called by the Lord Mayor of Manchester, and the volume is to appear in January.

“The Balance Sheet for the year ending December 31st, 1906, was printed in the last volume of *Proceedings* (pp. 66 and 67) and is submitted for approval. A corresponding Balance Sheet will be ready at the end of the present year.<sup>1</sup> Meanwhile it will be satisfactory to members to know that the receipts for the year 1907 are about £150 in excess of the expenditure, and that the Association has a sum of £600 invested or on deposit.

“The first volume of the publication inaugurated by the Investigations Committee has been published under the title of *The Year's Work in Classical Studies*, under the editorship of Dr. Rouse. The volume was supplied to members at a reduced price of 1s. 6d. (with postage 1s. 9d.) instead of 2s. 6d., and 283 members subscribed for it; 181 copies were also sold at the trade price. These sales are insufficient to cover the cost of production, and the Council feels that the continuance of the publication in the future must depend on the amount of support it receives from the members of the Association. The publication of this volume may have escaped the attention of some members who would wish to purchase copies.

“The scheme of Latin pronunciation recommended by the Pronunciation Committee, and adopted at the general meeting in October, 1906, has been published by Mr. John Murray in the form of a pamphlet entitled *The Pronunciation of Latin*, which has had a sale of nearly 500 copies. The scheme has also been officially adopted by the Board of Education, and is now in use in a very large number of secondary schools.

“The Council presents herewith the further report of the Pronunciation Committee appointed March 18th, 1905, ‘to consider and report on the best methods of introducing

<sup>1</sup> Printed on p. 112.

a uniform pronunciation of Latin and Greek'; and the concluding report of the Curricula Committee appointed March 18th, 1905, 'to consider in what respects the present school curriculum in Latin and Greek can be lightened and the means of instruction improved.'"

The adoption of the report was proposed by Professor SONNENSCHIEIN, seconded by Mr. F. FLETCHER, and carried *nem. con.*

Dr. F. G. KENYON.—"We have now to elect a President for the next year, and the name which I beg to suggest to you on behalf of the Council is that of the Right Hon. H. H. Asquith. Mr. Asquith represents the union of public life and scholarship which has been a feature of our English statesmen in the past, and I hope will long continue to be so. We have already had as President for a previous year a distinguished member of the late Cabinet, and the election of Mr. Asquith will show that the Association has no politics. We shall all agree that Mr. Asquith's great abilities could not be better employed than in the cause of classical education."

The motion was seconded by the Rev. T. L. PAPILLON and carried unanimously.

Dr. KENYON.—"I will now move that our Vice-Presidents, except Mr. Asquith, be re-elected; and I have also five new Vice-Presidents to propose. The first name is that of our present President, Mr. Butcher. I am sure the meeting will be glad of this opportunity of showing in a small way their gratitude for the brilliant and stimulating address that we have heard. Those who have been members of the Council know that Mr. Butcher has been the life and soul of the deliberations of the Association from the very start. I have also to propose the names of the Vice-Chancellor of the University, the Rev. E. S. Roberts, and of Professor W. G. Hale, whom we heard yesterday, and whose presence among our Vice-Presidents will be a sign of the interest that American Colleges have taken from



the first in the work of this Association. I have also to add the names of Dr. Henry Jackson, Regius Professor of Greek at Cambridge, and Professor Mackail, who was the first Treasurer of the Association, and whose address at the first meeting may be described as our original manifesto."

The motion was seconded by Mr. NOWELL SMITH and carried unanimously.

Dr. KENYON.—"There are also five vacancies on the Council, and the names submitted for your consideration are:—Mrs. Verrall; Professor Ridgeway; Professor Haverfield, Camden Professor of Ancient History at Oxford; Mr. C. Bailey, Fellow of Balliol College; and Mr. H. Williamson, Treasurer of the Manchester branch since its foundation, whose services were so valuable at the successful meeting which we held last year at Manchester."

The motion was seconded by Mr. J. W. HEADLAM and carried unanimously.

Dr. KENYON.—"Finally, there are the Hon. Treasurer and Hon. Secretaries to be appointed. I am very glad to say that no change in those officers is proposed, and the Association will continue to have the benefit of their experience. Professor Walters is proposed as Treasurer, and Professor Sonnenschein and Mr. Harrison as Secretaries. You all know the value of their work, but you do not all know the amount of time which that work consumes; and perhaps I might suggest one or two ways in which the business of the Treasurer might be lessened. One is by paying your subscription for four years at a time in advance, which I believe to be the method most profitable to the Association; and the other is by sending a banker's order, which involves the least trouble. As to lightening the Secretaries' work, I am afraid I can suggest no means. We can only express our gratitude, and hope that they will long continue to give us their help."

The motion was seconded by Mr. GILBERT MURRAY and carried unanimously.

Professor SONNENSCHN then moved that the next General Meeting should be held in Birmingham on the 9th and 10th of October, 1908. He quoted the following resolution, which had been proposed by the Bishop of Birmingham, seconded by the Lord Mayor of Birmingham, and unanimously adopted at a meeting of the Local Branch, which was also attended by most of the head masters and head mistresses of the Secondary Schools of Birmingham, and by a number of the prominent clergy, on September 27th :

“That this special meeting of the Committee of the Birmingham and Midland Branch of the Classical Association, together with friends of classical education in Birmingham and the neighbourhood, invite the Classical Association to hold their General Meeting for the year 1908 in Birmingham.”

The PRESIDENT.—“This most hospitable offer from Birmingham will, I am sure, be gratefully welcomed by the Association.”

The motion was seconded by the Rev. T. L. PAPILLON and carried unanimously.

Professor W. C. F. WALTERS (Honorary Treasurer).—“A financial statement has already been made in the Report of the Council. The expenditure so far for the year has been about £170. Of course there are some liabilities, such as the expenses of this meeting and the expenses of the *Proceedings* to be published at the end of the year. The receipts for the year so far have been £290. Money has come in very freely lately, especially from Cambridge, so that our present balance is nearly £150. This is, of course, merely a temporary position of things for this part of the year. A full balance sheet will be presented with the *Proceedings* as last year.<sup>1</sup> What I have to do now is to propose that the Association approve and accept the balance sheet for 1906 as given on pages 66 and 67 of the *Proceedings* for October, 1906.”

<sup>1</sup> Printed on p. 112.

The motion was seconded by Mr. M. O. B. CASPARI and carried *nem. con.*

A motion of which notice had been given, "That members of the Council shall be elected for one year, and shall be re-eligible for two more years in succession," was withdrawn.

Professor W. G. HALE.—"I have the honour to move a vote of thanks to the University of Cambridge for the loan of the Senate House ; to the Master and Fellows of Gonville and Caius for the loan of their Hall and Combination Rooms, and to Mrs. Roberts and the Vice-Chancellor for opening the Master's Lodge ; to the Committee whose names are on the fourth page of the programme, and to the Hospitality Committee and the ladies who have acted as hostesses ; and to the Cambridge Classical Society for its co-operation, and in particular to its President, Professor Ridgeway."

The PRESIDENT.—"The welcome offered to us by Cambridge at this meeting is a thing which we shall not forget, and I do feel especially grateful to the busiest man in Cambridge for having shown us such gracious hospitality. We are also much indebted to those who have worked on the small Committee. They have all done much work which I will not attempt to describe, and I think it is all the more kind of them to take in a hundred guests or more at the moment when there is an impending railway strike, and we might have been left on their hands."

The motion was seconded by Mr. POPE and carried by acclamation.

Mr. PAPILLON.—"I have pleasure in proposing a vote of thanks to the retiring President. You have already heard from Dr. Kenyon of the work he has done and the service he has been to the Association ; you heard for yourselves yesterday afternoon with what grace and force and illumination he can handle the cause for which we are met here ; and I think you will agree with me that we ought to carry a



most hearty vote of thanks to Professor Butcher for his services as our President."

The motion was carried by acclamation.

The PRESIDENT.—"I am most grateful to my old friend for proposing this vote. I have felt it to be a high honour to be President of the Association after those much more distinguished men who came before me. I look upon it as a very great delight to feel that in a very small way, as a member of the Council, I can keep in touch with classical education in England; and I will just take this further opportunity of saying what a pleasure it has been to find that there are men busily engaged in teaching in the Universities and in schools, who frequently give up their one holiday in the week and come up from all parts of the country to spend a long day in a dreary city considering how they may best promote the welfare of classical studies. To those members of the Council with whom I have worked I would give my warmest thanks, as well as to the Association as a whole.

"Now we come to the Report of the Curricula Committee on the teaching of Latin, and I will call upon Professor Sonnenschein to make a general introductory statement."

Professor SONNENSCHN.—"We propose that three resolutions arising out of this Report and expressing its general tendency should be presented separately for adoption, but that the Report as a whole should only be received and entered on the minutes. In moving this, I desire to call attention to one or two general features of the Report.

"Within the last few days a very important Circular (No. 574, dated October 10th) has been issued by the Board of Education, dealing with the teaching of Latin in Secondary Schools, and also two special reports on the teaching of Classics in Prussian Secondary Schools, by Mr. Paton of Manchester and Mr. Fletcher of Marlborough. I think that members of the Association will feel with me that there is a complete agreement on essential principles between the

Classical Association and the Board of Education. In regard to the burning question which has formed the subject of a conference between representatives of the Classical Association, the Modern Language Association, and the Incorporated Association of Assistant Masters—the question whether a modern language should be begun before Latin—the Board of Education agree with us in not laying it down as a principle of universal application that it is better to begin with the modern language, while at the same time they recognise, as we do, that there are weighty arguments to be adduced in favour of this procedure. And we have an additional reason for exercising caution in this matter, in so far as we are considering not only schools in which only Latin and no Greek is taught, but also the specially classical schools, called First Grade Schools. What is true of one type of school is not necessarily true of another. Obviously, too, a great deal depends on the way in which Latin is taught. Many of the objections urged against commencing the study at an early age are based upon the assumption that Latin will continue to be taught on old-fashioned lines, and without contact with those newer ideas which have done much to improve the teaching of modern languages, and which may be fruitfully applied to Latin itself. It is pretty clear that if Latin is taught more like a living language it becomes *pro tanto* less abstract and more suited to an early age of study. Again, if attention is directed to giving the pupils plenty of oral practice and accustoming them to the sounds of the Latin language, as passing from living lip to living ear, Latin acquires some of the merits which are claimed for French as an early study. One great advantage of the study of the first foreign language is that it should loosen the tongues of the pupils and give them a certain freedom of movement in some language other than their own, and this may be done to some extent, at any rate, in Latin if the effort is made. The method which I have in mind does not involve any sacrifice of strict grammatical discipline, nor is it to be identified with a

*conversational* method of learning, *i.e.* the use of Latin for the ordinary purposes of the intercourse of life. Oral practice is one thing, conversation another.

“In defining the objects of the study of Latin the Committee touches upon what is really the fundamental question in all such discussions, as the Head Master of Eton has pointed out in *The Classical Review* of last month. Why do we learn Latin? Do we learn the language in order to read the literature, or do we read the literature in order to learn the language? Whichever of these alternatives one affirms one seems to be ignoring some important aspect of the study. The answer of the Committee is that the object of learning Latin is twofold, (i) the intelligent reading of the more important Latin authors, (ii) a linguistic and logical discipline. Which of these ends is the more important it is not necessary to decide: both are essential; and they are not inconsistent. But when we say ‘linguistic and logical discipline’ we do not mean Ciceronianism and purism, which killed Latin as a living language at the time of the Renaissance; and when we say ‘intelligent reading of Latin authors’ we do not mean the treatment of Latin literature as the vehicle of so much *information*; still less the habit of regarding the authors as a quarry from which gems may be collected for future use in prose or verse composition. In the name of taste and literary form classical teachers have concentrated attention too much on the fine passages, the graceful lyrical turns, the noble thoughts, the felicitous expressions or dainty touches, to the exclusion from view of the meaning or message of a work of literature as a whole. The opposite error—that of regarding the literature as so many documents of historical purport as to the state of ancient society and its relation to the modern world—is one into which Germany at present seems in some danger of falling, in so far as the authors are read for what is called their content or subject-matter—something which can be expressed in the form of a logical or historical proposition—to the neglect of their human

aspects and their power of appealing to the feelings as well as the judgment. Hence the stress which is laid by Wilamowitz upon giving a complete picture of the Greek world and our own debt to it, even though, as our President pointed out yesterday, it means the reading of little or comparatively little of the great masters of the classical period. Hence, too, the limitation of Virgil to one or two books, and the thrusting of Cicero into a relatively unimportant place in the curriculum, which is characteristic of some recent German educational theory.

“ We have tried to avoid these extremes. What we stand for is rather the reading of Latin literature *as it was meant by its authors to be read*—if a history, then with an eye to the facts, the march of events, and the development of the historic sense; if a lyric or epic poem, then with an open mind for its power to touch the emotions and appeal to the sense of beauty.

“ We hope that our ideal is something more human than the ideal of the Renaissance—something more fitted for the average man: scholarship without pedantry, and aesthetic appreciation without preciosity. That classical study *par excellence* affords at once a logical training, a large outlook upon the world, and aesthetic appreciation, is its pre-eminent merit, and the best justification for the place which it occupies in our educational system. In order to realise this ideal the Committee has made a suggestion which, though not new, seems to need emphasis, namely, the principle that the classical authors should be studied, so far as circumstances permit, as literary wholes. This may seem at first sight an impossible demand at the present day when the time that can be devoted to the classics has been reduced; but a solution of the difficulty may be found if we recognise the principle that in order to grasp the unity of a literary work it is not necessary to read the whole of it, provided that we omit only the less essential parts. Hitherto we have bowed down too much before the fetich of the *book*, the whole book, and nothing but the book. We supposed we were reading



in a literary spirit if we read a whole book of, say, Tacitus, or Virgil, or Horace. Yet a single book of an author, while it may enable one to appreciate his *style*, often gives a very imperfect idea of his work as a whole. This is obvious in the case of historians and epic poets. It is almost as though one were to read in English a single book of *Middlemarch* and fancy that one had understood the story. The unity of the Odes of Horace lies, if anywhere, in the first three books, which were published together; and we can get a better idea of this unity by reading a selection of the most beautiful and representative odes contained in these three books than by confining attention to any one of them. The day has gone by when every classical author was regarded as perfect in all his parts. We recognise that they have degrees of merit, and it necessarily follows that if we devote our attention impartially to the whole of a single book we lose our opportunity of coming into contact with some of the most vital things in the author. Here then is the suggestion of the Curricula Committee,—‘that a classical author should be treated as far as possible as a literary whole, the several books being read in consecutive order, though with omissions of the less important parts’; and the Committee calls attention to the important difference which exists between reading a book with some omissions, and reading a collection of mere excerpts which, beautiful as they may be in themselves, are totally incapable of representing the work as a whole.”

The motion “that the Report be received and entered on the minutes” was seconded by Professor MACKAIL and carried *nem. con.*

Canon G. C. BELL, in proposing the first Resolution, said: “No experienced school teacher would attempt to cramp the young mind into the difficulties of two foreign languages at once; but I can imagine a home where a scholarly father should begin Latin with his boy, and at the same time an able mother or governess should begin French. But success is impossible. Latin and French, indeed, are so

much alike that perhaps it might be said that one would help the other ; but there are all sorts of minute differences, in the meanings of similar words, in genders, and in constructions ; and then there is the question of sound, very much complicated of late years by two changes that have taken place. First, we no longer shall encourage children to pronounce Latin in the old British way. Secondly, there is the whole subject of phonetics, which many teachers now consider to be essential ; but the phonetic systems of two languages such as Latin and French are quite different. To plunge young children (either boys or girls) into the abyss of such difficulties would be unpardonable. Again, if it is proposed to teach two languages that are not alike, such as Latin and German, the objections are multiplied. I need not elaborate the subject, but will move :

“ ‘ That it is not desirable to begin the school study of two foreign languages, ancient or modern, at or about the same time.’ ”

At this point it was agreed to take as an amendment a motion of which Dr. J. P. Postgate had given notice.

Dr. POSTGATE accordingly moved :

“ That, since Latin is considerably more difficult than modern languages, no scheme of education including it will be satisfactory which does not recognise either that Latin should be begun at an earlier age than those languages, or that a considerably larger number of hours should be allotted to it in the school curriculum.”

He said :

“ My motion does not assert definitely either that Latin should be begun at an earlier age than modern languages, or that a considerable number of hours should be allotted to it, but it asserts that we must accept one or other of these alternatives, and I take it that if this motion is carried the Council would consider it as an instruction from the Association to take up the consideration of this question by

appointing a day for discussion or otherwise. Before we can arrive at any satisfactory scheme, we must recognise that Latin is a language of superior difficulty to the modern tongues. If I had been speaking at a later stage, I should have given you statistics drawn from the Universities' Local Examinations to show that there is a very considerable decrease in the number of candidates in Latin in the Senior and Junior and Preliminary Examinations of both Oxford and Cambridge: two Universities which are at least favourable to the study of Latin. Let me ask you to take my word for this, and to allow me just to quote from a paper by a Harrow master, which has come into my hands to-day, a single but peculiar phrase: 'Now that Latin and Greek (especially the latter) are slowly but surely drifting out of our school curriculum.'<sup>1</sup> It is mentioned, you see, as a matter about which there can be no doubt whatever, incidentally and without any appearance of heat. This is why I felt it was urgent to bring my motion before this meeting, and I move it in no hostility to the proposals in the Report.

"With regard to these two alternatives, it is very important that we should make up our minds soon, which of them should be adopted in any general scheme. One of these alternatives, it is true, may suit certain forms of education, and the other may be more suitable to other forms. But *within the same educational sphere* you will have to choose, and the sooner you choose the better will it be. Without arguing the matter out, I would put before you some considerations that may be urged on either side. As an argument for beginning French or some other modern language earlier than Latin it may be said that such languages are nearer to our own, and that therefore the young mind will be more receptive of them, and overcome their initial difficulties more quickly. That is an argument to which great weight should be given. On the other side it may be said that before deciding in the matter we ought

<sup>1</sup> *Modern Language Teaching*, October, 1907, p. 173.

to consider very carefully what exactly it is that makes Latin a much more difficult language than French or even German to an English boy or girl. The reason is that in three or four important particulars Latin and English diverge, where Latin and French do not diverge. The framework of the languages is different. English and French express the different functions of a word by putting modifiers before the word; Latin by putting them at the end of the word. In English and French the order of words is tied; but in Latin it is free. In English and French a change in order usually means a change in syntax; in Latin a change of emphasis. Latin has no article; English and French have two. If, then, French is taught before Latin, the strong proclivities of English associations towards forms of expression which are alien to Latin will be strengthened by the similar associations in French, the ruts will be deepened and the difficulty of learning Latin at a later stage much increased. That French does exert an influence upon the acquisition of a classical language appears to be shown by actual evidence. For example, a common mistake in learning Greek is to put the adjective after the noun when the definite article is used. This is not the order in English, which agrees with Greek, but it is the order usual in French. Such are some of the considerations to be taken into account before we can settle the question, what is the educational minimum for the study of Latin in schools, and how we are to arrive at it—by beginning earlier, or by allotting it more hours in the school curriculum. I may give here the estimate of a friend of mine—a practical schoolmaster who has no undue bias in favour of the classical languages, since he came to Cambridge at considerable inconvenience to vote against compulsory Greek—‘that at least six hours a week were required to teach Latin.’ I do not myself say that six hours are necessary—that is a matter to be discussed; but the minimum, whatever it is, should be provided, and if a school cannot provide it, it had far better drop Latin entirely from its curriculum. I therefore ask you to



support this amendment in order that we may have a thorough discussion and early settlement of the question which of the two alternatives should be adopted for general use in the different classes of schools."

The Rev. and Hon. Canon E. LYTTETON, in seconding the amendment, said: "We are bound, as rational beings, to agree that, if a subject is taught, it must be taught well. If Latin is to be taught well, we must give it a sufficient number of hours, either by beginning it earlier with a moderate number of hours, or by beginning it later with an increased number. Now the chief difficulty is this. The subjects which push out Latin are French and Science; and a large number of parents have a more robust belief in the value of French than in that of any other subject whatever. This belief has had great influence on preparatory and public schools, and it has obliged them during the last ten years to adopt, as far as they can, modern methods in teaching French. In consequence, French makes a larger demand on our time. In spite of that demand, we are bound to make some recommendation about Latin which will commend itself to practical men. Schoolmasters are willing that Latin should be taught well, and have a sufficient number of hours allotted to it; but they labour under this real and practical difficulty, and we ought to show them such sympathy as we can."

Miss M. H. WOOD said that Dr. Postgate's two alternatives were of very unequal value. The value of an hour's teaching differed with the age of the pupil; and much of the earlier teaching was sheer waste. Case-inflections, for example, cannot be understood by children of eight, and their time would be better spent in learning the vocabulary of a modern language. The alternative of giving Latin a larger number of hours at a later age was therefore to be preferred.

Mr. F. FLETCHER.—"Dr. Postgate's motion is almost a truism. Either we must begin Latin at an early age, as we have been doing; or we must by some means give a

larger number of hours a week to it at a later age, in accordance with the experience of the German schools who have tried the experiment. But the difficulty of this is the difficulty of parents. We should need to be sure that we could be free from the pressure of a variety of outside subjects when a boy reached the age of sixteen, and that a Modern-side boy would be able to give, say, six hours a week at a time when Latin was opening really valuable possibilities. Then I think a boy might very advantageously begin at eleven instead of nine; but at present I have not convinced myself that this is practical, though I should be glad to think that it could be done. I support this motion of Dr. Postgate's, because I see no choice except the two choices he has given, unless Latin is to be dropped altogether."

MISS E. GAVIN.—"The wording of the amendment has not been as convincing to me as to the last speaker. After saying that 'Latin is considerably more difficult than modern languages,' it goes on to suggest that it should be begun at an earlier age. I have always understood that in teaching the easy should precede the difficult, and for that reason I could not possibly accept the resolution in its first part; but I do think that when Latin is begun a large number of hours should be allotted to it. A great educational advantage of putting French before Latin to my mind is that when children have learnt some French and then go on to Latin there is very great pleasure in drawing a connection between the two languages."

THE REV. R. BULL.—"May I say a few words about the chief difficulty experienced by Preparatory Schools, namely, the enormous difference between the theories advanced by the Head Masters' Association and the practice at their schools? We are in a perpetual dilemma between the two. The Classical Association seems in danger of being equally unpractical. Our committee in their recommendations speak of Latin being begun at ten or eleven. But where is the Preparatory School that can begin with French,

as so many speakers have recommended, and leave Latin till ten? Where is the Public School that will give scholarships, or even admission into any but the lowest forms, to boys who have been so taught, leaving Greek to be begun at fourteen? Further, how many of those who signed the recommendations before us will send their own boys to a Preparatory School with the request that they may not begin Latin before they are ten? The scheme recommended is in itself excellent and goes far to meet a real need; but we must realise the magnitude of the change it implies. At most Preparatory Schools Latin is begun before nine. I once had a boy from another school a week before his eighth birthday. He had begun French, Latin, and Greek simultaneously in the previous term. He declined *μῶσα* with Latin endings, and, needless to say, he could neither read, write, nor spell the most elementary English.

“What I plead for, then, is that those who propound excellent theories should themselves act upon them, and then there will be some hope of bridging over the gulf between our discussions and the realities of school life, and of attaining the goal of an ideal curriculum for young boys.”

Mr. W. F. WIRTON said that Dr. Postgate's proposals could not be applied to the smaller Public Schools, Grammar Schools, and Municipal Secondary Schools, since their timetable is so crowded that no more time can be found for Latin, nor can Latin be begun earlier, since many of their pupils enter at the age of twelve from elementary schools. There was a danger that some people might interpret the motion to mean that Latin was the subject on which most time could be spent with the least result. Instead of adopting the motion, the Association would act more wisely if it gave these smaller schools some idea as to how the small amount of time that could be devoted to Latin might be most profitably employed.

Miss M. MORTON said that even if it was admitted that Latin was harder than a modern foreign language, it did not

necessarily follow that more time must be devoted to it. It was only necessary to limit the aim, as indeed the Association seemed prepared to do. In the case of a modern language the aim was ability to speak, read, and write with the widest possible range; in Latin the aim could be restricted to reading a limited number of works and writing in a very circumscribed way.

The PRESIDENT said that the wording of the amendment might lead to much misconstruction. Many persons would infer that new and larger demands were being made for Latin. He hoped that Dr. Postgate would not press the amendment to a vote.

Dr. POSTGATE agreed to withdraw the amendment, with the proviso that the two alternatives mentioned in it should be regarded as still open for discussion.

The amendment having been withdrawn, the original motion was carried *nem. con.*

Mr. R. F. CHOLMELEY, in proposing the second Resolution, said: "This motion may well seem to you to need no recommendation: and yet, in spite of the almost axiomatic simplicity of its language, the doctrine which it implies is more revolutionary than you would think. We have just heard something of the extreme divergence which exists between the recommendations made by schoolmasters to the Classical Association and the practice of those masters in their own schools; and some of you may not be surprised to hear that there are places where the approved method of teaching Latin is still to make the boys learn by heart large masses of grammar towards the end of their books, and at the same time to get their practice from the elementary exercises at the beginning. This is actually done; and it is in order to rescue the children of this country from such horrible conditions that this resolution has been formulated.

"Two errors in particular stand in the way of the right teaching of Latin and Greek. One is that we are inclined to look back to the mediaeval practice, when Latin at any rate



was used for talking, and to forget that we have now so many more things to talk about that conversational Latin is no longer possible in the same way. The other is that we tend to confuse the conditions of artistic and scientific teaching, or to forget that while Grammar is a science, Literature is an art. To boys who will not go far in them, Latin or Greek should be taught as an art, rather than as a science; and they have this advantage over most other arts, that everybody can do a little of them. Most of us have to learn about painting, for instance, without being able to paint; but in learning Latin and Greek we are learning the art of Literature and producing it, even if ever so little, at the same time. If this is true, the proposals contained in the resolution must surely be accepted as reasonable. They involve two very simple assertions; but if the Classical Association is to succeed in forcing its principles upon those who would rather be blind to them, it is necessary to be as simple and as clear as possible even about the most elementary things. It is asserted, first, that in Latin and Greek, just as in some practical art like carving, teachers should make their pupils sharpen their tools every day and practise simple examples again and again before proceeding to more complicated patterns; secondly, that in teaching Latin and Greek we must limit not only the number of patterns, but the number of tools to be used by beginners. It may be possible—indeed it must be, for Dr. Rouse has done it—to make ordinary boys able to read the *Apology* soon after beginning Greek by talking with them in Greek about all the things to be found in a Stores catalogue; yet I could not help wondering, as I read Dr. Rouse's charming little book, whether those boys would not have been able to read Plato sooner if they had been talking about the things of which Plato talks. But this is a controversial question outside the terms of my resolution. I beg to move:

“That in the earliest stage of teaching Latin and Greek the teacher should aim at making his pupils

very familiar with such words, inflexions, and constructions as occur most commonly in the authors, and especially the first author, to be read at school.'”

The motion was seconded by Mr. BASIL WILLIAMS.

Miss M. C. DUNSTALL suggested that the motion might be amended with advantage by substituting “examiners,” “test,” and “examinees” for “teachers,” “teach,” and “pupils.” Teachers did not teach the dative and ablative plural of *filia* in response to a demand of the British public, but to that made by the examiners; and teachers who had to prepare pupils for examinations were very much in the examiners’ hands.

The motion was carried *nem. con.*

Professor MACKAIL, in moving the third Resolution, said : “The resolution just carried was described by its mover as an axiom, a term which subsequently turned out to mean a rather highly controversial proposition. The resolution which I am moving, while it falls short of being axiomatic, may perhaps be accepted as uncontroversial, and in point of fact it seems to me the most important thing towards the whole life and growth of classical studies in England at the present time. May I read a sentence or two out of the document which has already been quoted, the circular on the Teaching of Latin just issued by the Board of Education? ‘The study of Latin is an essential part of a complete modern education. No study of the development of European institutions is possible without knowledge of Latin, for in it are contained the records of the development of law, religion, literature, and thought. Latin is an essential instrument for the educational use of the English language, and any scientific study of the Romance languages.’ These are brave words; how far do they correspond with the facts in schools? It is our principal duty, the principal duty of all friends of Classics in this country, to see if they can be justified by practice, and they cannot, to my mind,

be so justified except through such consistent and organised method in teaching as is urged in this resolution. All this is so nearly self-evident that I should only obscure it if I tried to illustrate it by comment. All, I think, that is necessary is to say a few words which may remove any possible misapplication or wrong impression of two phrases in the resolution itself. These are 'organised scheme,' and 'historical value.' As regards the first, the misapprehension which seems possible is that in this resolution some cast-iron system is being recommended, that the Association is trying to impose upon schools the reading of certain books in a certain order. That is far from the intention, I believe, of the Committee, and certainly far from the intention of the Council. The system which we desire to see introduced into schools is not a hard-and-fast system, but one which will vary from school to school, and which will be adjusted by the schoolmaster according to the capacity of his boys, the time at his disposal, and the particular strong or weak points of his staff. It will therefore not be rigid; it will be flexible. It will have the flexibility which only exists in organised structures, the flexibility which is killed by being disjointed. So much on the first point, as regards the organisation of reading. As regards the subject-matter of the reading, the resolution says in the first place that the pieces selected should 'be suitable in respect of 'both their language and their subject-matter to different stages of learning.' This is really axiomatic, for no one would suggest that they should be chosen for their unsuitability. It goes on to say that there should be kept in view 'the literary and historical value of the authors or parts of authors selected.' As regards the question involved in the words 'parts of authors,' we have already been warned by a previous speaker against the tyranny of the book. While not at all disposed to disagree with that warning, my own feeling would be to lay still greater emphasis upon the other danger, the anarchy of the excerpt. The tyranny of the book is, so far as my

knowledge goes, a very mild thing. The other danger is a real, a vital, and a very insidious one; and this brings me directly to the second point, as regards the historical value of the Latin which is read. The term 'historical value' is happily ambiguous. It means on the one hand the value of the work read towards our knowledge of history. We learn and read Latin for the purpose of knowledge; the excerpts are read for the sake of the facts contained in them. But, what is more important for our present purpose, the historical value of the Latin and Greek authors is not only their value towards history, but their value as history. In this sense we study Latin not for the sake of the facts given us by the authors, but for the sake of the authors themselves, and for their value as dominant and vital factors in the evolution of civilisation, and in the progress and development of thought, art, and life. I beg to move:

“‘That the scheme of reading in Latin and Greek authors should be carefully organised and graduated with a view (1) to the selection of such authors as are suitable in respect of both their language and their subject-matter to different stages of learning, (2) to the literary and historical value of the authors or parts of authors selected.’”

The motion was seconded by Mr. GILBERT MURRAY and carried *nem. con.*

Canon LYTTLTON moved to add to the Resolution the words:

“and that, with a view to the attainment of this object, simple narrative in prose or verse should be selected, as far as possible, for the younger pupils.”

The Resolution as it stood would be generally accepted. But at present in many schools authors chosen entirely for their literary merit were read long before that merit could be appreciated by the boys: a survival from the time when boys were brought up to quote Latin and Greek and



to write compositions long before they could understand literary merit. If the idea contained in the Resolution was to prevail over that older idea, the schoolmaster needed more definite guidance, and it was important to insist on the necessity of choosing narrative, the only form of Latin literature which children at the outset could understand.

The motion was seconded by Mr. F. FLETCHER and carried *nem. con.*

It was then suggested that the Curricula Committee be re-appointed; and it was agreed, on the motion of Professor SONNENSCHN :

“That the Council be requested to reappoint a Curricula Committee.”

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*Note.*—The chief arrangements for the Cambridge meeting were made by a Committee consisting of the following members: The Vice-Chancellor of the University (Rev. E. S. Roberts, Master of Gonville and Caius College, Chairman), Messrs. F. M. Cornford, P. Giles, E. Harrison,\* Miss J. E. Harrison, Professor Henry Jackson, Mr. F. J. H. Jenkinson (University Librarian), Professors J. W. Mackail,\* J. P. Postgate,\* J. S. Reid, W. Ridgeway,\* Dr. W. H. D. Rouse, Dr. J. E. Sandys (Public Orator), Mr. J. T. Sheppard,\* Professors C. Waldstein and W. C. F. Walters,\* Dr. A. W. Ward \* (Master of Peterhouse), Mr. L. Whibley.\*

The arrangements for hospitality were made by a Committee consisting of the following members:—Mrs. H. Montagu Butler, Miss J. E. Harrison, Miss K. Jex-Blake, Mrs. H. F. Stewart, Dr. J. Adam, Messrs. E. Harrison, E. E. Sikes, N. Wedd.

By the kindness of their Librarians (Mr. F. J. H. Jenkinson and Mr. C. W. Moule), the University Library and the Library of Corpus Christi College were opened to members of the Association during certain hours.

\* Members of the Executive Committee.

MR. S. H. BUTCHER, M.P.

## GREEK AND THE CLASSICAL RENAISSANCE OF TO-DAY.

For the first time we meet to-day at Cambridge. Four years ago we came into existence as the "Classical Association of England and Wales;" and though we have now got rid of all limiting words in our title, I may perhaps be allowed to recall the fact that it was at Cambridge that the idea of our Association originated. "Living movements do not come out of Committees," said Newman; and this movement, assuredly a living one, came, if out of any single brain, out of that of Dr. Postgate. It is true that the Classical Association of Scotland was before us in the field; still in this place I desire to commemorate Dr. Postgate as our Founder.

That our first meeting here should be under any other Presidency than that of Sir Richard Jebb is a saddening reflection. He was nominated to the office which I have now the high honour of holding, but he did not live to take office. I, or any one else, may occupy his room; no one can fill his place. For our generation he has stood as the perfect type of the scholar and the humanist; for years past he has been the undisputed leader of our band; it is not too much to say that he imparted to classical studies in this country a new direction and ideal; and since his death, scholarship in every land has paid its tributes to his incomparable work; the last and perhaps the best—the most intimately appreciative—being that of Dr. Verrall in a chapter of the *Life and Letters* just published, a volume

which, to those who knew only the scholar at a distance, now makes known through his own familiar letters the man "dear to the Muses" and beloved by many friends.

In the last few months other gaps have occurred in our classical ranks. Three of our foremost scholars have been lost to us by premature death; Dr. Adam—long will his loss be felt in Cambridge—Dr. Rutherford and Dr. Strachan; all three, Scotsmen of power and fervid enthusiasm, who in their divergent lines of study have each of them left the strong impress of their character and personality on all that they produced.

I will not now take up your time by anticipating the Report of the Council or forestalling the discussions which are to follow; but there is one matter so important as to claim immediate notice. I have to report that the scheme for the restored pronunciation of Latin is advancing steadily towards a successful end. We have moved slowly; we have done so on purpose; we were resolved to make good each step of ground as we went. So great a change cannot, as we well know, be carried through in a day. But the goal is now in sight. We have won the adhesion of all the chief bodies in England. The Philological Societies of Oxford and Cambridge may be taken as speaking for the Universities; the Headmasters' Conference and the Assistant Masters' Associations represent the Secondary Schools. The Board of Education have issued a circular recommending the reform in all schools recognised by the Board. The Scotch Education Department have approved a scheme almost identical with our own, drawn up by the Classical Association of Scotland, and have urged its adoption in the schools under their inspection. That is a hopeful record of progress.

Reformed methods of teaching the Classics have also engaged the attention of our Council. Probably we all think how much better we might have been taught than we were. Some of us whose teaching days are over look back with chastened feelings to our own obsolete methods, our groping attempts, our opportunities of experiment too

often neglected. Yet we must bear in mind that, however much methods may be improved, we cannot smooth away all the difficulties of Greek and Latin. There is a point beyond which it is impossible to simplify; the hard facts of language stand in the way. Scaliger, writing to a friend who had told him of a new Polish plan of Greek made easy, said, "Whoever would conquer as I have conquered must do so by the sweat of their brow." This is also the law of learning in much humbler walks of classical study. But we believe the reward to be worth the cost. If our studies have indeed lost vitality, why, let them go. We are not silversmiths of Ephesus making shrines for the great goddess Diana; nor have we any war to wage with other studies; to all of them we are friendly. We admit freely that a man can get through life very handsomely without a knowledge of the Classics. Any one who looks through our Proceedings in the last few years must be struck by the studious moderation of our tone and the absence of all exaggerated claims. Both in speeches and papers the pleas put forward in defence of the Classics have been temperate and powerful. The reason we are here to-day is that we have a quiet but strong conviction of the value of this learning to the intellectual life of the nation; a belief also that our classical studies may be made more literary without the loss of disciplinary effectiveness.

One of the earliest puzzles which have perplexed mankind is what words are and how to treat them. Dangerously alive things, said some: mere dead things, said others. There is an ancient legend, vouched for by Kipling, of the man who had achieved a deed, but when he came to explain it to the tribe, was dumb. Then arose the man with the magic of the necessary words, and he described the deed so that "the words became alive and walked up and down in the hearts of all his hearers." The tribe, seeing that the words were alive and fearing that the man with the words would hand down untrue tales, took and killed him. Man has in all periods of his history felt a little suspicious of



words; conscious indeed that he is the master, they the servants, but with an instinctive dread that they may turn upon him and gain the upper hand. In Greece reflection busied itself early, not only with the origin of language, but with the whole problem of the relation of language to thought. Speaking broadly, we may say that the Greek mind leaned towards the error of ascribing to words an independent existence and endowing them with a kind of vitality which they do not possess. Unlike the Romans who knew one foreign language, unlike ourselves who know so many badly, the Greeks had no other tongue to bring into comparison with their own. Owing to the absence of this knowledge, Plato himself was led into verbal fallacies from which he would otherwise have been saved, nor was it till his later years that he appears to have freed himself from that tyranny of concepts which exercised a superstitious sway over the intellect of Greece. Protests indeed made themselves heard against the prevalent mode of thought. One philosopher insisted that it is the business of a word always to mean just as much as the utterer of it wishes it to mean,—nothing more and nothing less. To proclaim his proud mastery over these obedient symbols he made use of particles as proper names; his slaves he called ἀλλὰ μὲν and so forth, and his sons μέν and δέ. “If you do not take words too seriously,” says Plato in the *Politicus*, “you will be all the richer in wisdom as you grow older.” Words, Plato well knew, may be so handled as to take the place of thought, and we need but cast a glance down the course of Greek speculation to see that the warning was not superfluous.

The function of words in education has been as hotly debated as the place of words in the theory of knowledge. “The study of words is the basis of education” (ἀρχὴ παιδείσεως ἢ τῶν ὀνομάτων ἐπίσκεψις) said Antisthenes. *Give us things, not words*, has been the constant cry of the assailants of humanistic learning. It was the motto of science against classics some thirty or forty

years ago. Classical education, we were told, has to do with mere abstractions, words and phrases; science is the way to concrete reality. If I mistake not, we no longer hear much of this bare antithesis between words and things. Words, as we all now know, are things. They are living organisms, as real as material natural products, each with its own evolutionary history. We can trace them in their growth and in the development of their structural forms, often with rigorous exactness. They are not only things, but thoughts. We follow the shifting phases of their inner life, as whole epochs of mental change are unfolded before us. The claims of classics and of science are not indeed wholly reconciled by these and similar considerations. Still the acute differences are softened. On the one hand, classics has abated something of its old pretensions; on the other, science has become much more friendly to literature. Many of its foremost champions admit that literary and linguistic training must always be the element of prime importance in education. Not less literature but more, and more varied, is what science to-day demands. This no doubt falls short of the position maintained by the classicists, still it affords a common ground for discussion, and clears the way towards a more complete understanding.

Into that discussion I do not now propose to enter. I would merely insist that, even under our traditional system, the classics have often led us by gradual ascent from the study of words to the study of literature. How many of us looking back on our own school days can recall the gradual awakening of the literary sense by the feeling for words; in the first instance, perhaps, by the lesson of precision, of exactness, in the use of words, phrases, and idiom; and, as a natural sequel to this, we came to see how and why a particular word is untranslatable, a discovery which marks a memorable stage in mental progress. Next, possibly, we became dimly aware that precision has an austere beauty of its own, the matching of the word with the thought, the saying neither too much nor too little. St. Augustine,

speaking of the great pagan orators, says, "Their words seem less to have been chosen by the artist than to have belonged by a kind of antecedent necessity to the subject." That is the sort of impression I am thinking of. Then as we grew more familiar with Greek or Latin poetry and tried to turn it into English, the illuminating truth broke in that the diction of poetry is not the diction of prose, that the words of poetry carry in their sound as well as in their sense some message that cannot be conveyed to the logical understanding. Through poetry, too, learned by heart and orally repeated came by degrees the further delight of finding the unexpected word in the inevitable place, and of recognising that "beautiful words are," as Longinus declares, "in a real and special way the light of thought." Latin verse composition, also, easily as it lends itself to ridicule, has in countless cases given a boy his first insight into the meaning of artistic work. Even in its slight beginnings it is something more than the piecing together of a dissected map, for as the words fall into their absolutely right order, the rhythmical instinct finds its satisfaction. At a later stage the attempt to recast the original English and reproduce it in a new mould of thought is a sort of creative effort, bringing with it a pleasure of its own. A simple copy of verses thus becomes a bit of a genuine human workmanship, a mode of self-expression, complete and adequate in its kind.

This old method of learning literature by gradual and indirect approaches may not be the best; undoubtedly it is not adapted to every order of mind, or to the mass of boys; it needs to be largely modified and supplemented, though not perhaps to be wholly discarded. Anyhow those of us who owe something to that intellectual nurture may be permitted to say wherein we are indebted to it. The system had this signal merit, that words and thoughts sank into the mind by absorption. The feeling of beauty was educated by a discipline, painful it is true, but the pain of which was insensibly transmuted into pleasure.

The very difficulties we had to encounter, the resistance to be overcome, gave a keener relish to the joy of mastery. Line by line, letter by letter we learned from the classics the rudiments of literature. With minds tinged by that influence we applied ourselves to the reading of English literature, and found in the mother tongue latent capacities of expression which might well have escaped us but for our early habit of seeking in English the nearest equivalent for some ancient word or idiom. Well, years, let us suppose, have gone by; facts and dates and all the niceties of grammar have slipped from the memory. You say—if I may for the moment fancy myself speaking, not to this learned audience, but to educated men who have never professed to be scholars—you say you have forgotten your Greek and Latin. You open, however, after long interval, upon some half remembered lines of Homer or Virgil, upon some fragment of a chorus of Sophocles. You read one of those great calm utterances in which ancient poetry stores up the emotion of centuries, and seeks to allay the unrest of individual feeling by merging it in the larger experience of the race. You knew the lines at school, you enjoyed their music, you felt their simple beauty; that was all. Now in a season of recollection, at some crisis of your life, they come home to you as piercing truths, charged with the fresh emotional force which has gathered round them during the years that have elapsed since you first read the lines. You find to your surprise that you have imbibed more of the spirit of the classics than you knew. Certain it is that through the portal of words and even of grammar effective entrance has been often made into the domain of literature. But the gate has been too strait, and the number of those admitted has been few in comparison with the total number of the learners. It is this which makes us pause and ask ourselves whether we are altogether on the right lines. The love of letters that is frequently so strongly marked in the boy of eleven or twelve, so markedly absent a few years later, what has become of it? Is it not that



the discouraged learner has turned into the perplexing idler, and would he not have responded to the stimulus and the charm of classics, if speedier access to the literature could have been won? Under our existing tradition books have been read in too detached portions; too much time has been spent over grammatical details; too little interest roused in the story, the biography, the play, the incident. Enough attention has perhaps not been paid even with advanced pupils to the sequence of the thought, the relation of the parts to one another, the literary structure of the whole.

What is the best way or ways, for they are many, of teaching literature, even the literature of our own language, is still an open question. Personally I am in favour of many experiments. But I incline to the belief that while all classical teaching should be imbued from the first with a literary colouring, the chief stress of the earlier instruction must, at least in the case of one ancient language, be thrown on the linguistic side of the literature. Our aim indeed should be to keep form and matter in close alliance, yet there is a stage for the pupil at which form is paramount. If it is neglected or disparaged the whole study becomes flaccid and unliterary. There is such a thing as the passive unlaborious reception of the general sense of a printed page which is valueless as education. "Ye know not," says Roger Ascham, "what hurt ye do to learning that care not for words but for matter, and so make a divorce between the tongue and the heart." Whatever may be our ultimate reforms, we must hold fast to the principle of true humanism and maintain the organic union between speech and thought, between form and substance, so that a training in literary expression may be associated with the study of the best thought on things human.

But I hasten on to the main theme of my discourse, and would ask you to turn to the larger field of classical learning. What do we there find as the salient and arresting fact? Surely this, that we are in the full swing

of a new Classical Renaissance, an era of movement and discovery which began in the last century and is now going forward with quickened impetus. Ever widening horizons are coming up. Never since the scholars of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries set themselves to reconstruct the mind and life of classical antiquity has the sense of achievement been so great, never have the possibilities of the future seemed so limitless. In range of study and variety of materials the new Revival of Learning even surpasses the old. Art and Archaeology, Palaeography and Inscriptions, Myth and Ritual, Anthropology and Folk-lore add their witness to that of the manuscripts. The methods employed are in large measure the methods of exact science. Nay more, there is hardly a science from Geology to Photography that has not directly aided the processes of this multifarious erudition. Historic sites have been laid bare, pre-historic civilisations unearthed. The disinterred city of Cnossos, its undeciphered script, and the whole mystery and romance of that long buried world, have given a kind of imaginative lift to archaeological research. Meanwhile the papyri are filling in many gaps in our knowledge of the later development of Greek language, and in particular throw a most instructive light on the Greek of the Septuagint and of the New Testament; they are disclosing facts of law and administration, strata of society, details of home-life, of which we had no previous record. The classical texts contained in these papyri, fragmentary as they are, carry us behind our extant manuscripts, a thousand years back and more, confirming or more often disproving the conjectures of the learned. Of the lost treasures of ancient literature there is well nigh nothing that may not be resuscitated. Aristotle's *Constitution of Athens*, Herodas, and Bacchylides have already come to light. We have quite lately heard of some 1300 lines of Menander about to be published. And the most notable fact of all remains. The new Renaissance is predominantly a Greek Renaissance. Greatly as the

study of Roman antiquity has been deepened and extended, the main current of discovery and research flows along Greek channels, or has its source in civilisations which blended with that of Greece. In archaeology the mere mention of Crete, Troy, Tiryns, Mycenae, Olympia, Delphi, is evidence of the truth of the remark. In the light of advancing science all roads lead to Greece. "The world," says Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, "has learnt to recognise a vital growth of culture through some fifteen hundred years, which is not only the source of our own, but in a sense its parallel; and this is all Greek, for Rome is only a province of it." "Not only Europe, but the East shows the influence of Greece and the Greek language: even Palestine and Syria, Armenia, Arabia, India. Every branch of human thought owes its first inspiration to Greece. Theologians are at last learning that Christianity can only be understood in the light of contemporary Hellenism; as in philosophy, as in astronomy, mathematics, and geography, so in medicine and natural science, the modern spirit finds itself closely linked with the ancient."<sup>1</sup> This very day when the Harveian oration is being delivered in London, we may well recall the fact that Galen, "the first great experimental clinician," all but discovered the general circulation of the blood, and that it was the revived study of Galen that gave birth to modern anatomy. It may be added in passing that it is only by the collaboration of Greek scholarship and science that the history of the sciences, so imperfectly known, can be thoroughly explored.

But here comes in the paradox of the situation. Back to Greece, says learning. Give up Greek, say a host of educational reformers. The moment is strangely ill-chosen for this great experiment. Never has Greece been so lovingly studied or so vitally apprehended. She is admired, critically admired, as she has never been before, not only for the perfection of her literary art, but for her unexhausted contributions, philosophic and scientific, to human

<sup>1</sup> *Classical Review*, Feb. 1907.

thought. Alike from the point of view of learning and of culture the claims of Greek to-day are paramount. The fact is not seriously disputed; but the counter argument runs thus: "After all, the classical baggage of a cultivated man must in these days be light and portable. For the learned, Greek will continue to be a fascinating study. Even the unlearned must obtain some glimpse into the place of Greece in civilisation. What Greek poets and thinkers have said and thought must be told and retold more fully, but it must be told in English, not in Greek. For school purposes the teaching of the language must be restricted to a few pupils with special linguistic bent." Let me say at once that if this prospect is disturbing, it is not on the ground of any danger to learning. Greek learning will take care of itself. It is as indestructible as the Greek spirit; on that score we may set our minds at rest. It is not Greek that is imperilled, but English education. The pivot on which the educational issue hinges is, whether henceforth there is to be a type of school in which classics, including Greek, is a recognized part of the school curriculum. (There is no question here of Greek as a compulsory subject for all pupils.) If such a course of study, normal and well-defined, is abandoned, there is little hope, in my judgment, of Greek surviving as an element in our national culture. This is what is at stake—the very existence of classics as a humanistic discipline. We in this Association are not primarily concerned about turning out professional scholars. We are concerned in retaining as a civic possession the most potent instrument that has yet been found for the awakening and enlargement of the mind.

Greek in translations is what the reformers offer to us. What translation can and cannot do I will not now discuss. All who hear me know the limits of its capacity. For myself I believe that a new and widely diffused interest in the classics has been created by the literary skill which marks the art of translation in our own day. Translations



have a far greater future before them than has yet been realized. Many to whom the classics would otherwise remain unknown, will find in them an undreamt-of literary enjoyment, and some few will doubtless be led from the translation to the original. Still it is a mere truism to say that in every translation, however much is retained, something is lost and something is added. The new thing, if the translator is a man of genius, may even be better than the old, but in any case the impression it leaves is different ; it cannot be otherwise. And if no poetry can be adequately translated, Greek poetry least of all. There is a subtle essence in all the best Greek work—and this is true also of the prose of Plato or Demosthenes—which cannot be conveyed through a medium not its own. What is lost is not a kind of superadded charm, it is a permeating quality of mind, an atmosphere in which the whole is bathed. The English Bible is cited in disproof of this contention. It is all very well, we are told, for scholars to turn up their noses at translations, but the greatest book we have is a translation by divers hands. I hesitate to say a word about a language I do not know ; yet I imagine the Old Testament itself suffers loss in being translated out of its Hebrew form. Even if as pure literature the English version often surpasses the original, yet who can doubt that the associations of the thought are frequently discoloured by our Western speech ? Is there indeed any book that has been so much misapprehended ? But if some degree of loss is inevitable in translating Job or Isaiah, it is infinitesimally small compared to the loss sustained in translating Homer either into prose or verse. Hebrew is of simple structure ; it has a small vocabulary ; its range of expression is limited. It can depict man in his daily doings with his fellow-man ; it can express the deep outgoings of the heart towards God, and describe nature in her quiet and ordered sequences, and also in her sublimer moods. But the language of Homer with its elastic play of particles, its immense vocabulary, its delicately shaded distinctions of word and phrase, is

an organ of far greater range and flexibility. It lends itself to the most many-sided human intercourse; it reflects every movement of peace and war, every phase of thought and feeling; it is as diverse as the life it reproduces; all styles are already implicit in the rich variety of the poet's utterance. I need not pursue the contrast. Homer never has been translated and never can be, and this even apart from the music of his verse. Professor Harnack tells us of two young German students who having received a classical education were prosecuting other studies at the University. They were asked whether on looking back they would willingly give up their Homer. "No," they said, "when we read him in German he was a mere fairy tale; but to read him in Greek is the knowledge of a new world."

Those who would substitute Greek in translation for a study of the Greek language propose however, by way of amends, to keep Latin in the original. Hitherto Latin and Greek in classical schools have been studied not as languages only, but as forms of literature and culture, mutually illustrating one another. As a mere disciplinary exercise Latin apart from Greek may still remain highly effective; but divorced from Greek it is a maimed and impoverished study, cut off from its source. It cannot in isolation maintain itself on the higher plane of literary instruction. A lowering of standard is perceptible wherever, in England or elsewhere, the two studies have been disjoined. The difference is sure to be further accentuated when teachers as well as taught are ignorant of the parent literature. In deprecating this divorce as fatal to Greek and harmful to Latin, I would not suggest that Greek and Latin form a single undistinguishable whole, vaguely known as "the classics." Since the age of the Italian Renaissance Greek has been too much read with Roman eyes. The differences of the two races have been often ignored, the characteristic lines obscured. Greece and Rome are in truth a strongly contrasted pair—they became aware of it themselves—unlike

one another in their strength and in their weakness, in their political organisation and history, in their literature and in the structural expression of their thought. Take a single example. The firm and logical syntax of Latin is markedly different from the psychological syntax of Greek, with its delicate blend of intellect and emotion, responding readily to the natural movement of living speech; a syntax in many respects so illustrative of the Greek mind. Where else, for instance, do we find a case so characteristically Greek as the genitive in its union of opposites? Dorians and Ionians within Greece herself are not so diverse in their gifts as are Greece and Rome both in their intellectual qualities and in their influence on the world. By degrees, however, the lineaments of Greece have been disengaged and the spirit of Greece begins to stand out clear from what has been known as the "spirit of antiquity." None the less Greece and Rome must be studied together as indissolubly connected in history and as together forming the unity of ancient civilisation. The disparate elements in time coalesced, and out of these mingled influences arose that bilingual world-wide culture which through many vicissitudes and changes has been transmitted to our own day.

The mention of that culture brings me back to the remarkable article of Wilamowitz in the *Classical Review* from which I have already quoted. A scheme is there outlined for a reformed teaching of Greek, very different, I need not say, from any that aims at understanding Greece through Greekless study. His central position is this. All recent research shows that Greek influence is the dominant factor in our existing civilisation. To follow humanity in its intellectual and moral development we must study Greek. The course of instruction should be so framed as to exhibit the fertility, the variety, the ingenuity of the Greek mind in all departments of art and science, of political and philosophical reflection. For this end the literary and aesthetic side of teaching must be subordinated to the training of the historical intelligence. This will be possible

only if the language is learned rapidly—not for its own sake—and with much less grammatical detail than at present. The pupil will traverse swiftly and lightly the whole field of Hellenism in typical extracts. Attic must be deposed from its position of undue supremacy. Poetry, now in the foreground, must take a back place; history must be made more prominent; natural and physical science, philosophy and religion must claim attention. Greek so pursued will no longer be “one of the elegancies of life, but a guide to the continuity of history.” It will be found to be the basis and bond of all forms of education, scientific and religious, and a connecting link between many school studies which now stand apart. The Greek Reader he has constructed as an aid in working out this idea contains passages from all periods of Hellenism, extending from the sixth century B.C. down to the fourth or fifth century A.D.

The principle from which Wilamowitz starts—the lightening of elementary grammar, the widening of the range of authors available for beginners, the less rigid adherence to the Attic standard—all this will probably find favour with most of us. Gladly we open our door to Arrian, Lucian, Plutarch, and even to Longus and Dion of Prusa; to some for the first time, to others after a period of ill-deserved neglect. With Lucian and Plutarch those who have once made friends in youth will ever afterwards desire to keep their friendship in repair. As to the large and exhilarating programme that is here presented, it is almost ungenerous to criticise it coldly. Its breadth of outlook may at first sight seem to be the one thing needed to expand the minds both of teacher and pupil, and to vivify the study of Greek. In recent years the question has often suggested itself with insistent force, can we recover something of the old comprehensive humanism of the Renaissance? In the middle of last century there floated before the imagination of scholars the idea of a complete reconstruction of the classic past. That vision has faded away before the growth of specialized learning. The field of classics is so subdivided



that no one can pretend to master the whole. Within the domain of Greek study itself, eminent persons seem as alien to one another as if they belonged to different tribes. The ideal hope of a science of antiquity has vanished, at least for our generation. But now one of the greatest living scholars, perhaps the greatest, comes forward and proposes a certain line of reconstruction, limited indeed and practical in its scope, still designed to form a unifying idea for classical education. Greek study is to be the meeting-point of many sciences; through Greek the learner will trace in outline the course of our historic culture. I own I view the proposal with grave misgiving, and in saying so I limit myself strictly to its educational value at an early age. To the professed student of Greece, or to the historian of civilisation, the steps of the slow process by which the human mind has painfully won its way towards truth, and the part played by Greece in that development are of engrossing interest. For the maturer student, too, at the University, few courses could be imagined more enlightening than the study of Greek texts, judiciously selected, enabling him to follow to their source some of the larger principles of scientific and historical thought. But what we are more concerned with, is not specialised Greek teaching in the University, but Greek education in the school. And the method, as it appears to me, is ill-adapted to its end. Premature expansion of the mind is weakening, not fortifying. It is merely a dispersion of energy. To read a proposition of Euclid in the original may indeed set a boy thinking. The discovery that Euclid was a man, and that he wrote in Greek may be a useful and pleasurable shock—if indeed ten years hence Euclid's name survives in school circles. Beyond this, a teacher may by occasional excursions bring the youthful learner into contact with the fresh scientific mind of Greece, exploring, sounding, reconnoitring, experimenting in all directions. Similarly, art and archaeology can each throw their own side-lights, more frequent and more vivid, on the ancient world. Still literature is

one thing and the history of science, as also the science of history, is another. If Greek is to be made an all-embracing discipline, ancillary to science, its school-days are numbered. True it is that science learned to think and speak in Greek as she has seldom spoken since. But Greek science, like all science, is perishable in its content; and even were it otherwise, that content can be expressed in English or German or Esperanto. Now the Greek with which we seek to inspire young minds, is Greek of that distinctive quality which cannot be conveyed adequately through any other medium. The fortunes of Greek as liberal culture must not be bound up with the tentative efforts of Greek thought in any or all of its branches. The things of science are temporal, the things of art are eternal. Greek in the school class-room must take its stand on the supreme value of a literature in which form and matter are more perfectly fused than in any other. That position is impregnable. To say this is not to treat Greek as what is called "mere aestheticism." The literary excellence of Greek writers cannot be dissociated from the rich content of the thought, or appreciated without a full comprehension of the historical setting of the literature, and of the life, public and private, from which it sprang.

But, as I have already observed, too many learners are kept outside at the vestibule of literature. It is their case that causes disquiet. Can they obtain a readier entrance? Assuredly they can; experience proves it. The thing is being frequently done to-day. It was done in the humanist schools of Italy during the early Renaissance. Latin was there employed as the chief instrument of grammatical and linguistic discipline; and the foundation being thus laid, Greek was studied mainly for its literary content, the range of reading being surprisingly wide. The example is one to which with certain modifications we may well revert. Our Association has recommended a reform on these lines. Its report has been approved by the Headmasters' Association. The opinion of the Universities is, so far as I can gather,

favourable. In adopting this change we shall not be driven to the drastic remedies of Wilamowitz. Greek oratory will not be extruded from school reading by the pressure of miscellaneous history and science. There will still be time to read some of "the ephemeral orations of Demosthenes." Specimens of formal oratory, we are reminded, are to be found both in French and Latin. Where, however, but in Demosthenes can we find the temperate reserve, the hidden glow, the words which themselves become deeds, the λόγος which, as he himself hints, is an ἔργον? There is another and cardinal point. The early study of Greek will not be placed on the prosaic level of Wilamowitz's programme. The imaginative training afforded by the Greek poets is the first and greatest gift that Greece has in store for the youthful Hellenist, and it remains as a passport to the poetry of every other nation. Wilamowitz by no means excludes poetry, but he admits it sparingly. In my opinion the allowance of poetry should be generous. Homer above all should be taken not in sips but in copious draughts. Herbert Spencer, who seems to have regarded Homer as a fatiguing person with a kind of homicidal mania, will find few followers even among schoolboys. If the demand is to bring Greek nearer to life, more in contact with the actual thought of men, surely the world of imagination is nearer to us in youth than the hygienic principles of Hippocrates. The parting of Hector and Andromache, or the scene between Achilles and Priam, is more moving in its appeal than Heron's doctrine of the vacuum, than the physical geography of Strabo or the biological observations of Aristotle.

There is another reason against employing the most prosaic of prose authors as an introduction to Greece. The classics are now being studied, especially in our younger Universities, by sections of the population to whom hitherto they have been unknown. In our industrial centres, if anywhere, people need to be lifted out of their own surroundings to escape from the pressure of material things,

from the common cares of business or of money-making. They desire to feel the touch of poetry and imagination, the emancipating power of good literature. The feeling for beauty is there apt to be starved or stunted. Is there not place left for the creations of Greece, for the sense of beauty, for the things of the spirit? Let us see to it that in offering Greek to the schools, we do it in a way which teaches the soul to put forth her wings. One other word to these new-comers. They belong to democratic communities. The Classics are sometimes described as a feudal, privileged, undemocratic domain of learning, and Greek in particular as an abstruse culture out of the reach of common men. Of all heresies this is the worst. To one who is entering on Greek literature we may say what Pliny said to a friend who was setting out to be governor of Achaia, "*Profecturus es ad homines maxime homines.*" Yes, the Greeks are of all men the most truly human. Their great imaginative works travel along the broad thoroughfares of human life, portraying, though with infinite subtlety, the simpler human emotions and opening up a large vision of human experience. Their best prose literature is something like oral speech; it is not quite like a book. It has the ease, the fluidity, the self-adapting power of good conversation. The literary speech is freshened by drawing freely on the colloquial idiom. It has incorporated in itself much that is, in Wordsworth's phrase, "of texture between life and books." In the prose writers of Greece you feel that even on the printed page there is the warm breath of human speech, there is the air and the tone of life. Add to this the sense of progressiveness now attaching to Greek study, such as for centuries past has hardly been known outside the sphere of the physical and natural sciences. The consciousness that Greek is a living, growing, expanding subject, moving forward with the full tide of human progress, has communicated to many of the friends and teachers of Classics a buoyant hopefulness for the future.

The mystery of Hellenism remains. Hellenism is a



pervasive, penetrating influence. The mode of its working cannot be explained. It eludes us as does the secret of its permanence. Its ways are the ways of the spirit. Always going and never gone, at the moment when it seems dead it germinates afresh. It scatters vital seeds of thought wherever it passes. What will spring from that seed cannot surely be predicted. All that we know is that life-giving energy in some form will result. The manifestation of that energy differs at different periods, in different societies. People have not always got from Greece that of which they were in quest. They have gone to her for learning; they have found beauty. They have sought science; they have gained spiritual emancipation. They have studied a language; they have won an intellectual franchise. A late Roman writer said of his teacher, "He teaches more than he knows" (*plus docet quam scit*). Of Greece this is pre-eminently true—more than she knows she has taught. And if our study of Greek needs to be reformed, it is through Greek methods that the inward renewal will come, by fearless questioning of tradition, by a love of truth which is not all intellectual, but in which intellect and emotion are combined, and by that partnership of mind between teacher and taught which has given to the world the highest thought of Greece.

Professor W. G. HALE, of the University of Chicago.

## THE HERITAGE OF UNREASON IN SYNTACTICAL METHOD

It is a pleasure to me to be a member of an association of scholars in this mother-land of my own speech and race, and an honour to be allowed to take part in its work.

In what I say, I beg you to think of me not merely as an investigator, but as a practical teacher as well. In connection with my Teachers' Training Classes in my University, I have recently carried young beginners half through the American preparation for college in Latin; and the *First Latin Book* which arose out of the earlier part of this work is now in use in American schools. In whatever I have to suggest in this address, I have teaching ultimately in mind.

The time at my disposal is short, the subject one that calls for many details. I must compromise, speaking at most points with great brevity. You must also pardon me if I mention names and systems without reserve. We need in Classics the same free and frank discussion that has long characterised work in Natural Science.

### I

If I were to propose to you to-day that we should abandon the independent study of syntax, and adopt a system from some professor of philosophy, fitting our rules to his categories, you would hardly give me a hearing. I should urge in vain that it is the object of philosophy to determine the ultimate nature of things, including the

ultimate processes of the human mind, and that accordingly a sound syntax must be in harmony with its results. You would answer, in substance, that the history of philosophy is the history of warring schemes, and would ask to which we should attach ourselves. Further, you would probably inquire why we should give up our intellectual independence, and simply follow at the heels of this or that philosophical exploring party. Still worse would it be if I were to propose to establish a system of syntax on some philosophy a century and a quarter or a century and a half old, say that of Kant or that of Wolff. You would marvel that any one could be found who should be so blind to the methods which everywhere else rule in scientific investigation in this brilliant age.

Yet it is on systems of mood-syntax established in precisely this way that we are to-day bringing up our young people, and explaining things to one another and ourselves with a gravity worse than that of Roman augurs, because we do actually deceive ourselves and one another. The cycle of our dominant explanations was completed nearly a hundred years ago, namely in 1812; and, with the exception of three inherited errors which were worked into the scheme, it all came (directly, or by a few very early twists and turns) from the modal categories of Wolff and Kant. This I have first to show.

The Greeks reasonably named three of the moods from some power which, at least, they possessed. Thus the *Optative*—to translate by the Roman name—does have, among other powers, that of expressing a wish. On the other hand, the mood which they called the *subordinated*—*ὑποτακτική* (Latin, *subiunctivus*)—received its name, not from any power, but from the mere fact that, in the majority of cases, it was found in dependent clauses. This was a calamity of which we have not yet seen the end.

We pass now, with a long stride, to Wolff's Ontology. Its categories are Necessity, Possibility, and Contingency. The scheme, though the fact has escaped notice, was taken

up by a number of grammarians. If these categories covered all action and being, the moods, it was felt, must correspond to them. The complete application is made, *e.g.* in Meiner's *Philosophische und Allgemeine Sprachlehre*, 1781. The moods are defined exactly in the Wolfian terms: the Indicative as the mood of Necessity, the Subjunctive as the mood of Possibility or Contingency. Harris, in his *Hermes*, 1751, had already dealt with the Subjunctive in a similar way, explaining it as the mood of the contingent. Thus a purpose is expressed by the Subjunctive, according to Harris, because "an End, or Final Cause . . . in human Life is always a Contingent, and may perhaps never happen in despite of all our Forethought."

Wolff's philosophy was succeeded by the philosophy of Kant. In the *Critique of Pure Reason*, 1781, Kant laid down three categories of modality, namely Existence, Possibility, and Necessity. In 1792 Hasse, a schoolmaster in Kant's own town, applied the categories to the verb, making the Indicative the mood of Existence, the Subjunctive the mood of Possibility, and the Imperative the mood of Necessity. In 1801 Gottfried Hermann, in the book entitled *De Emendanda Ratione Grammaticae Graecae*, while abusing Hasse as not understanding Kant, adopted his idea of applying Kant's scheme, and carried it still further by making use of the philosophical terms "subjective" and "objective," which had played so large a part in Kant's system. He defines the moods as follows: The Indicative is the mood of Existence; the Subjunctive is the mood of Objective Possibility—*i.e.* of Possibility *per ipsarum rerum condicionem*; the Optative is the mood of Subjective Possibility—*i.e.* of Possibility as thought (*cogitata*); the Imperative is the mood of Subjunctive Necessity; while the Verbal in *-τέος* forms the mood of Objective Necessity.

Let me say in passing that the scheme did not even fit Kant's categories; for by Necessity Kant meant that which necessarily, and so always, *exists*. This is very far from being the force of the Imperative. Neither did Kant mean



by Subjective and Objective what Hermann meant. But I proceed with our exposition.

Since, continues Hermann, the Subjunctive expresses that which is possible *per ipsarum rerum condicionem*, it cannot stand by itself, but must be attached to a main sentence, which alone is competent to show what the *condicio rerum* is. Hence it must always be dependent, even where it appears to be independent. Thus, τί ποιῶ, "what shall I do?" stands for ἀμφισβητῶ τί ποιῶ, "I am in doubt what to do," and ἴωμεν, "let us go," stands for ἄγε, ἵνα ἴωμεν, "act, in order that we may go." Here Hermann has combined with his metaphysical scheme the inherited error of the Greeks, which made the Subjunctive the mood of subordination, and has incorporated with it the Renaissance error of resorting freely, without specific evidence, to the theory of ellipsis.

In 1807 and 1808 Matthiä, in two Greek Grammars, started from Hermann's definition of the Optative as the mood of Possibility as thought (*cogitata*), but threw the emphasis upon the latter side, and so defined the mood directly as the *mood of thought*. The Subjunctive also, to his mind, expressed thought as against reality; the difference between the two moods being that the Subjunctive expresses the act more definitely, as depending on external circumstances, the Optative less definitely. Both moods, as you see, are now moods of *thought*, with a difference only in the degree of definiteness. Matthiä also hinted, as Kühner afterwards expressly taught, that the Optative, in accordance with its secondary terminations, is merely a Subjunctive of the past.

In 1808 Dissen, in his *De Temporibus et Modis Verbi Graeci*, started from the two novel schemes which he now had before him. The Optative he made the mood of a *conscious* thought—a refinement on Matthiä. For the Subjunctive, taking Hermann's phrase "dependence upon the nature of things," *per ipsarum rerum condicionem*, as his point of departure, he emphasised the side of dependence,

and so made this mood the expression of Conditionality, working into his definition also an old conception of Doubt or Uncertainty, which had been associated by earlier writers with a different mood, namely the Optative, in its potential power. All Subjunctive constructions must, according to Dissen, be conditional. The Indicative becomes for him, correspondingly, the mood of *Unconditionality*.

Four years later, in 1812, Thiersch published two Greek Grammars. The mood-system is made up from Matthiä and Dissen. The Optative expresses an act as merely thought (*als bloss gedacht*), as an idea, a conception (*als Vorstellung*). Thus a general condition in the past is expressed by the Optative because the various acts did not really take place together, and the operation of *putting* them together is a purely mental one. This is from Matthiä. For the Subjunctive, Thiersch ingeniously compounds all the phrases of Dissen's discussion, and (making it the expression of that which requires something outside itself on which to base itself) defines it as the mood of the *dependent*, the *conditioned*, the *uncertain*. Thus in ἵωμεν, "let us go," the Subjunctive, says Dissen, is necessary, because the going *depends* upon the will of the person addressed.

From Greek the scheme was applied to Latin. Thus Reisig, in his lectures on Latin Grammar, last given in 1827, and published by Haase in 1839, says that there are three forms of being: Reality, Possibility, and Necessity, and three corresponding moods in Latin: Indicative, Subjunctive, and Imperative; and that Possibility may be thought either objectively, as resting upon the relations of things, or subjectively, as in the mind of the speaker. This is Hermann's scheme, pure and simple. Zumpt, in his Latin Grammar, 1818, made the Subjunctive the mood of Thought, of Conception (*Vorstellung*). Schulz's Latin Grammar, 1825, says that the Indicative is the mood of reality, while the Subjunctive is used when one expresses the contents of a sentence not as a fact, but merely as an idea. So, *e.g.*, in indirect questions, expressions of purpose or result,

wishes, concessions, or conclusions, one is dealing, not with facts, but with conceptions; as in "I told him that I had gone to church" (*dass ich in der Kirche gewesen sei*), in which for the moment I regard my being in church not as a fact (*Thatsache*), but as the object of a mental activity, and so as a conception (*Vorstellung*). Similarly Kühner, 1840, and Madvig, 1844. Madvig says, for example, that in *Titius currit ut sudet*, "Titius runs to get in a sweat," the Subjunctive is used because the sweating is a mere conception. This is Hermann modified by Matthiä. Ramshorn, 1824, made the Indicative the mood of Reality, the Subjunctive the mood of the Conditioned, and the Imperative the mood of Necessity. This is a mixture of Hermann and Dissen. I am unable, then, to agree with Golling, who (in his very interesting Introduction to the Syntax of the *Historische Lateinische Grammatik*, 1904) says that the grammars of Zumpt and Ramshorn rest upon no philosophical theorems, but upon grammatically scientific foundations. And I need mention only this fact, together with the fact that Golling regards Hermann as the "true reformer" of grammar, to show how little the real history of nineteenth-century thinking about the moods has been understood. I trust that I have already successfully unravelled the principal threads of the web. But it had not been done before, except in a recent paper of my own.<sup>1</sup>

From Greek and Latin, the metaphysical conception of the moods was transferred to the grammars of the modern languages. Thus Etzler, in his *Erörterungen*, 1826, make the German Subjunctive express *das Denken als solches*. All dependent clauses, he says, contain this idea. Thus the clause of Result is in the Subjunctive because the very notion of the rise of something out of something is a *conception*.

<sup>1</sup> A somewhat fuller paper, entitled "A Century of Metaphysical Syntax," read at the Congress of Arts and Science, Universal Exposition, St. Louis, 1904, and printed in vol. iii. of the *Proceedings* (Houghton, Mifflin, & Co., Boston, 1906).

Thus again Becker, in his *Organismus der Sprache als Vorbereitung zur deutschen Grammatik*, 1827, says that the German Subjunctive expresses an act as "thought" (*ein vorgestelltes*), whether it be in itself real or only thought (*sei es an sich wirklich, oder vorgestellt*). Jakob Grimm similarly defined the German Subjunctive, and Mätzner, in his English Grammar, the English Subjunctive, as the mood of Thought, of Conception (*Vorstellung*). The idea that the Imperative was the mood of Necessity passed away; but otherwise the metaphysical system, in one or another of its forms, won in the first half of the last century practically complete assent, and is to-day still the dominant system.

Now the chances are very great that it is unsound. No one would to-day accept the categories of either Wolff or Kant as final, either for life in general or for the moods in particular. These doctrines originated in a false method of procedure, and were founded upon a passing system of thought. They were turned and twisted into the shape in which we have seen them, not by a series of corrections founded on observation, but by a manipulation of phrases, or even of emphases in phrases. It would be little short of a miracle if, begun so radically wrongly, and developed so radically wrongly, they had nevertheless worked themselves free from error, and now really reflected the truth. For the moment I shall rest content with this condemnation, and turn again to my introductory statement that the cycle of ideas which had been brought into fashion before the year 1812 (mainly in the eleven years preceding that date) are the dominant ideas of the present day—in other words, that in syntax, as in no other field of science, we are content with the achievements of a hundred years ago; as if, in one of the most delicate of all possible subjects, the investigation of the processes of human thought as exhibited in speech, these men had been so marvellously ahead of their times.

Metaphysical syntax, as we have now seen, set up the following as the forces of the Subjunctive or Optative, all



of which forces were also assigned, singly or in groups, to the Subjunctive in Latin, German, English, etc. : Contingency, Conditionality, Uncertainty or Doubt, Indefiniteness (the Optative expressing more, the Subjunctive less), Subjectivity (or, in other designations, Thought, Conception, the Idea as opposed to Reality), and Dependency.

I spent an interesting evening of strife this last summer with a lecturer in classics in the University of Oxford. His explanation of the Subjunctive and Optative in Greek was that they expressed an act as *in the mind* of the speaker or writer, the Subjunctive more definitely, the Optative less definitely. I felt as if I were assisting at the centenary of Matthiä; for this is the doctrine which he published in 1807. I made the acquaintance this summer of an able young student of the University of Cambridge, who is devoting himself especially to classics. I asked him his explanations of certain common constructions in Greek and Latin, and then borrowed from him the books from which he had learned them, in the school from which he had come. I will read some extracts :

Mansfield, *Syntax to a Primer of Greek Grammar*, new edition (Rivingtons, 1897):

“§ 76. A verb is said to be in a mood when it shows by its form whether the action is regarded as existing independently or as conceived (more or less distinctly) in the mind.

“§ 78. The Conjunctive has two forms, (1) the Near or Primary Conjunctive (sometimes called Subjunctive), which is used to express conceptions nearer and more distinct to the speaker's mind : as *ἐὰν ἔλθῃ*, *if he comes* : (2) the Remote or Historic Conjunctive (sometimes called Optative), which expresses conceptions further removed and less distinct : as *εἰ ἔλθοι*, *if he were to come*.”

This is again Matthiä.

W. Smith and T. D. Hall, *A Grammar of the Latin Language*, 8th edition, 1876 :

“§ 421. The Subjunctive mood expresses a thing not as a *fact*, like the Indicative, but merely as a *conception* of the mind. Hence the Subjunctive mood is used to indicate (a) an hypothesis ; (b) doubt or uncertainty (including *indirect*

questions); (c) a wish; (d) purpose or result; (e) a proposition borrowed from another, and not adopted by the writer (*narratio obliqua*).

“§ 422. The Subjunctive mood is always dependent upon either (1) some hypothetical Conjunction; or (2) some antecedent sentence or clause to which it is subjoined (*subjungo*), and which deprives it of the character of a positive (‘objective’) assertion.

“*Obs.* The antecedent member of the sentence is very often not expressed, but left to be understood.

“§ 497. *Dum, whilst*, is construed with the Indicative; *dum, until*, with the Indicative or Subjunctive, according as a simple fact or a purpose is intended.

*dum sciero, until I have learned.*

“*Note.* The writer regards it as certain that he will learn.”

Here we have Matthiä's view of the Subjunctive as the mood of conception, along with the old Greek error that the Subjunctive is always dependent, and the erroneous Renaissance doctrine of enormously extended ellipsis, as worked into his Kantian scheme by Hermann. I find no weaker word than “monstrous” for a condition of classical science and method that makes it possible for students, in the twentieth century, to be brought up upon such a farrago of ancient error. But do not think that I am speaking of England alone. I am speaking of the Continent and America as well.

As regards the explanation of the Subjunctive with *dum*, it is the common one which was adopted, as a detail, in the syntax of the metaphysical school. It also, since there is a certain resemblance between a *dum*-clause and an *antequam*-clause, sometimes carried with it the explanation that the Subjunctive in the latter is due to the idea of purpose. This matter will come up later.

I add a few more specimens from our grammars.

Allen, *An Elementary Latin Grammar* (Clarendon Press, 1901), § 196 :

“The Subjunctive denotes actions which are thought of as happening, whereas the Indicative denotes those which actually do happen. Hence,

“*Rule.* The Indicative expresses a fact, the Subjunctive a conception.”

St. John Parry, *An Elementary Greek Grammar* (Longmans, Green, & Co., 1900), § 150 :

“The Moods of the Finite Verb.

“The Predicate may stand in certain relations of thought to the speaker : (a) as a fact, (b) as a supposition.”

Gildersleeve and Lodge, *Latin Grammar*, 3rd ed., 1896, § 255 :

“The Subjunctive mood represents the predicate as an idea, as something merely conceived in the mind (abstractions from reality).”

The last phrase is from a book of the metaphysical school, Bäumlein's *Untersuchungen*, 1846.

Carpenter, *English Grammar*, new edition (Macmillan, New York, 1906) :

“The Subjunctive mood represents statements as thoughts or conceptions, which may or may not have a basis in reality, or which are obviously not conceivable as facts.”

Fasnacht, *Macmillan's French Course, Third Year*, p. 62 :

“The Subjunctive mood (is used) if the Principal Sentence implies that the action expressed in the dependent clause is merely conceived in the mind of the speaker.”

This is Matthiä. And again :

“In the sentence ‘son père veut qu'il vienne,’ ‘his father wishes that he should come,’ the contingency (eventual fact) of his coming is in the speaker's mind, subjoined to the will of another (his father).”

The word “contingency” has come down from the Wolfian school of syntax, the phrase “in the speaker's mind” from the school of Matthiä-Hermann-Kant, and the phrase “subjoined to” from the old Greek error about the Subjunctive. The word “will” belongs to an entirely different conception, to which we shall presently come.

The corresponding *German Course, Second Year*, by Fasnacht, has in part similar ideas. Thus on p. 115 we read :

“The Subjunctive mood may be used in Consecutive, Comparative, and Final clauses . . . to denote an expected (or

unexpected) *result*, an *uncertain contingency*, or a *purpose* not accomplished. . . . The alternative between the use of the Subjunctive or Indicative depends entirely on the *sense expressed or implied* in the principal clause—*i.e.* the *probability or uncertainty* of the expected result or contingency.”

Similarly Schmalz, in the *Syntax of the Latin Grammar* by Stolz and Schmalz, 1885, started with Subjectivity, and from this got Dependency, Inner Connection, etc. In the third edition, 1900, he starts with a *fictive* power (only another name for our too familiar *Vorstellung*), and from this gets Subjectivity, which he then applies to account for the various dependent uses of the Subjunctive. Similarly again, Waldeck, in his *Practical Guide to Instruction in Latin Grammar*, 1892, and Methner, in his *Investigation of the Theory of the Latin Moods and Tenses, with especial regard to use in Instruction*, put all uses of the Subjunctive under *Vorstellung*. Gerth also, in the *Syntax* of the new edition, just now completed, of Kühner's *Greek Grammar*, defines the Optative as the mood of *Vorstellung*.

And now may I add (setting aside the title of my paper) that I regret to see the use still made of certain of these old phrases, though they play no vital part, in the Latin grammars of three English scholars whom I regard as my colleagues in the attempt to bring about better things? They are those of Postgate, Sonnenschein, and Sloman. Postgate, after giving the headings “A. Subjunctive of Desire” and “B. Subjunctive of Imagination,” adds: “In A and B something is put forward as a *Thought* or Feeling, not as a fact.” Sonnenschein says: “In Latin the Subjunctive and Optative have been united so as to form a single *Subjective Mood*, expressing Will and Thought.” And Sloman says: “Speaking broadly, the Subjunctive presents a statement as a *thought* or *idea*, as opposed to a realised fact.” The phrases which I have emphasised should, I believe, be wholly dropped from our grammars. I regret, too, that Goodwin, whose service lay, as he has himself expressed it, in “treating Greek syntax by the light of common sense,” has followed



the metaphysical tradition from Dissen which came down through writer after writer, and makes all Subjunctive constructions, even those with *πρίν* and *ἕως*, conditional. Nor has Goodwin, even in his negations, escaped the influence of the general method of the metaphysical grammarians. They aimed to find some one idea which was present in all uses of a given mood. Goodwin says that it is impossible to find, *e.g.*, a meaning which should cover all the uses of the Optative, or a meaning which should cover all the uses of the Indicative, and rests content with this. The statement is perfectly true, but it lays down no sound and helpful conception of the nature of language. It constitutes no advance, but only an arrest. Neither did Goodwin, until the last editions of his *Greek Grammar* and *Greek Moods and Tenses*, begin with independent sentences, though no one can question that human speech did begin with them. I regret, similarly, that Allen-Hadley and Goodell in their *Greek Grammars*, Bevier in his *Brief Greek Syntax*, Monro in his *Homeric Grammar*, and even Thompson in his recent *Greek Grammar*, which especially aims at introducing modern points of view into syntax, should have continued the same tradition from Dissen in making all relative clauses the Subjunctive conditional. Most of all is it to be regretted that even Delbrück, to whom, more than to any one else, we owe the spread of sounder views, was unable wholly to escape the inheritance of the metaphysical school. Even in his last syntactical work, *Der Germanische Optativ im Satzgefüge*, he adopts *Vorstellung* as his regular explanation of the Optatives (in the older terminology, Subjunctives) in the Germanic languages, abandoning the very method—the psychological and comparative—of which he had been the leading advocate. But these last matters will be seen more clearly in the light of the constructive part of my address.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [This part was not read by Professor Hale, but it is hoped that it will shortly be accessible to members of the Association.]

MISS J. E. HARRISON

## THE PILLAR AND THE MAIDEN

My friends have brought against me of late a somewhat serious charge. They tax me with some lack of reverence for the Olympian gods; for Apollo, for Athena, nay even for Father Zeus himself. My interest, I am told, is unduly focused on ghosts, bogies, fetiches, pillar-cults. I pay to them and to such like the attention properly due to the reverend Olympians. Worse still, in matters of ritual I prefer savage disorders, Dionysiac orgies, the tearing of wild bulls, to the ordered and stately ceremonial of Panathenaic processions. In a word, my heart, it would seem, is not in the right place.

I had an uneasy misgiving that my critics were sound; so I spent a good deal of the Long Vacation in searching out my spirit. When you were good enough to ask me to read a paper before you, I felt it was a golden opportunity, not to justify my position—that may be impossible—but to submit an *apologia pro haeresi mea*, or at least to tell you how it came about.

Last summer I found myself standing at sunset before the north façade of the Cathedral of Our Lady at Chartres. Suddenly my eye was caught by something that seemed oddly familiar, yet remote. Instantly my mind flew back three thousand years, to Crete. *Consciously*, I do assure you, I was not thinking of Crete or archaeology. It was one of those amazing sunsets whose magical beauty forbids articulate thinking; yet at the accidental sight of an architectural feature, up from my archaeological subconscious

self surged Crete and pillar-cults. High up on the north façade I had seen, I was sure, a pillar-shrine.<sup>1</sup>

Four slender columns support a roof. This is the shrine ; and it encloses, not the expected Saint or Bishop, but a Pillar—a Pillar surely of great sanctity, else why does it need a shrine ? The central pillar is far larger than the four which support the roof, and architecturally it is superfluous.

Further search showed that this pillar-shrine did not stand alone. On the north façade were a whole series, and some adorned the outside of the apse.<sup>2</sup>

Probably while I have been describing these pillar-shrines, the minds of many of you have flown not to Crete but to Olympia, to the pillar of Oinomaos, which, I confess, when first at Chartres I had forgotten. Pausanias says<sup>3</sup> : “What the Eleans call the pillar of Oinomaos is as you go from the great altar to the sanctuary of Zeus. On the left there are four pillars with a roof over them (τέσσαρες δὲ εἰσιν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ κίονες καὶ ἐπ’ αὐτῶν ὄροφος).” “The structure,” Pausanias goes on, “has been erected in order to protect a wooden pillar which is decayed by time.”

You are thinking, “This is all very well, a very interesting analogy ; but we *know* what the pillar at Olympia was. It was a Pillar of the House of Oinomaos, a local hero with a local cult. But what evidence is there of a pillar-cult at Chartres ?”

Pass within the Cathedral, through the North Porch, sacred always to the worship of the Virgin. To the left of the high altar, next to the sacristy, is a shrine, more hallowed by a living devotion than any other of the manifold sanctities of the place ;<sup>4</sup> more than the miraculous Voile de Marie, more even than the black image of Notre Dame Sous Terre ; and that is the shrine before you.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Slide 1 : sketch from north façade, Chartres.

<sup>2</sup> Slides 2 and 3 : north façade of the Cathedral and view of pillar-shrines from roof.

<sup>3</sup> V. 20. 6.

<sup>4</sup> See Mr. Cecil Headlam, *Chartres*, p. 207

<sup>5</sup> Slide 4 : chapel of La Vierge du Pilier.

The chapel of La Vierge du Pilier, the chapel of the Pillar and the Maiden, is crowded with offerings, lamps, tapers, votive hearts. They may be votive to Our Lady, herself here the lineal descendant of the Druidical *Virgo Paritura*; but if you want forty days' indulgence for your sins, it is not the hem of the Virgin's robe, but the Pillar that you must kiss.

This cult is of immemorial antiquity. The actual pillar is a fragment of the ancient *jubé*, and was set up only in 1806; but happily we can trace the devotion to a pillar back to 1608, when it was already ancient. Rouillard, writing at that date, says: "L'affluence y est si commune, et la dévotion si grande que la colonne de pierre se voit cavée des seuls baisers des personnes dévotes et catoliques."<sup>1</sup>

A few months later the Pillar and the Maiden drew me back to Chartres. The great festival of Notre Dame du Pilier is in September, beginning on the eighth and lasting through the octave. As always with primitive festivals, the accompaniment is a week-long fair. From all the country round the mothers bring their babies, and camp out on the great Cathedral steps. The shrine was all aflame with votive tapers; there was much trafficking in holy cakes and pictures and images. But the end came at last, and the end was beautiful. The octave closed with evensong in the Cathedral, and the procession of La Vierge du Pilier. After evensong a great dignitary preached a foolish, pompous sermon. But, the sermon ended, almost in a moment everything changed and the real business began—the worship of the Maiden. I had noticed that the side aisles were thronged with young girls all in blue, with long white veils. As the sermon ended they began to sing a hymn to Mary, set to a childish tune. As they sung they fluttered together, guarded by nuns, to the chapel aisle; they formed into procession, each with a lighted taper. Down they went into the crypt to visit Notre Dame Sous Terre; up again to take their station at last before the

<sup>1</sup> Quoted by Mr. Headlam, *op. cit.*, p. 208.



Maiden of the Pillar. That procession was a lovely thing to see, and to hear—the white veils, the girls, their tremulous voices, the moving, flickering lights in the dim Cathedral; it was all so frail, and young, and virginal. The priests were just nowhere; of course there were a few of them trudging heavily at the head of the procession, and the Bishop did the censuring, but they did not really count. It was the old pagan thing back again, the maidens worshipping the Maid—their Maid. My matriarchal soul was glad within me.

It was such a worship as was paid by the school children at Ostia to Diana.<sup>1</sup> It was such a worship as the Maiden Timarete paid to the Maid Artemis. Pardon the thrice familiar words<sup>2</sup> :—

Maid of the Mere, Timarete here brings  
 Before she weds, her cymbals, her dear ball  
 To thee a Maid, her maiden offerings :  
 Her snood, her maiden dolls, their clothes and all.  
 Hold, Leto's child, above Timarete  
 Thine hand, and keep her virginal, like thee.

At the close, when the maidens, standing round the shrine, had sung their last hymn to the Maid, the congregation pressed round to kiss the Pillar, and all was done.

At Chartres then we have the Pillar and the Maiden, a living instance, you will grant me, of an aneikonic and an eikonic cult subsisting together side by side. What is their relation? What their significance? What in the world have they to do with the question of Olympian religion? Let us go to Crete, the great home of pillar-cults.

The signet-ring<sup>3</sup> before you takes us there. A worshipper stands before a great pillar; behind it is a shrine with sacred tree and smaller pillar, surmounted by a table. The pillar-cults of Crete are, thanks to Dr. Arthur Evans, so well known

<sup>1</sup> Slide 5 : wall-painting from Ostia.

<sup>2</sup> *Anth. Pal.*, vi. 280 : τὰς τε κόρας, λιμνᾶτι, κόρα κόρα, ὡς ἐπιεικές, ἄνθετο.

<sup>3</sup> Slide 6 : Cretan gem, *J.H.S.*, 1901, p. 170, fig. 48.

that I should not so much as mention them here, but that I think their significance has been in some ways missed.

Old books on Greek religion usually begin with a chapter, brief and unsatisfactory, on aneikonic cults. Then we pass to the Olympians. The orthodox view is that aneikonism and eikonism represent two stages of development, a lower and a higher. The unhewn stone, we are told, the tree trunk, the rude image, was gradually transformed by the shaping hand of the artist, till it grew to perfect human form. It is so easy to talk like this in a lecture; I am sure I have done it myself. It sounds so plausible, but is it how this really went? Of course the old herms *did* have heads put to them, but this was usually at a later stage, when mental eikonism was well established.

My view, to state it crudely and broadly, is this. Aneikonism and eikonism represent, not so much two stages of development, but rather two tendencies in the human mind, alien always, hostile often. Eikonism is a religious phase, higher perhaps sometimes than the lowest aneikonism, but infinitely lower, lower religiously—I do not say artistically, or even morally—than the highest aneikonism. Let us look into facts and examine the relation between aneikonism and eikonism.

First, what is the eikon to the god? It is, I think, not a development out of his aneikonic figure, but a votive offering, an *agalma*, usually placed *on* his aneikonic pillar.

The pillar-shrine of Chartres<sup>1</sup> has a gable roof to let the rain and snow of the north slide off. The shrines of Crete and Libya, when roofed at all, have flat roofs. Note one result: they have become altar-tables. One supports three cups for libation, the other a *liknon* or offertory-basket. The pillar-god *is* his own altar; the offering is put on himself. This continued down to late days. In the next slide you see a *liknon* full of fruits placed *on* a sacred pillar.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Slide 7: pillar-shrine of Chartres, Libyan and Cretan altar-tables.

<sup>2</sup> Slide 8: Hellenistic relief in Vienna Museum. *Annual B.S.A.*, x. p. 145, fig. 2.

But you can offer to the god not only fruits and cups of drink : there is something else that pleases him best of all.

In the next slide we see Zeus as a pillar-god.<sup>1</sup> What would old Zeus like best of all? He is very human; he has no objection to having his portrait taken and placed *on* his sacred pillar. It is his *agalma*.<sup>2</sup> Sometimes the portrait supersedes the god—the pillar-god sinks to be a pedestal for his own portrait; but never at Chartres, and not so often as we are apt to think in Greece.

To the god then the *eikon* is not a development, but a votive offering. To the worshipper it is not an object of worship, but an illustration of his own thought.

In the familiar Lion Gate of Mycenae<sup>3</sup> we all know now that the column guarded by the lions is a divinity. The Mycenaean always knew that. But what sort of a divinity? 'The next slide explains.<sup>4</sup> Side by side we have pillar-shrine and *eikon*. The Cretan gem-engraver is not content with worshipping sheer divinity, he wants to *know* in whom he has believed, and for him it is the Mountain Mother with her wild lions—he has turned a vague pillar-numen into a thinkable *θεός*.

The Greek was by nature a confirmed, habitual eikonist; he loved to realise, visualise. Another nation, not surely less religious, knew that its gods took no delight in such *agalmata*. That nation was content to conceive its god, the illimitable power that animates sky and sun and moon, as dwelling in its Bethel, a rude stone or a trinity of stones.<sup>5</sup> That nation knew that, though morally and artistically eikonism might be an advance, religiously it was a set-back. The ordinance of that nation's god was, "Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven image."

<sup>1</sup> Slide 9 : eikonic Zeus, amphora, *B.M.*, F 331, *Classical Review*, vol. xvii. p. 271.

<sup>2</sup> Slide 10 : eikonic Zeus crater, *B.M.*, F 278. *Classical Review*, vol. xvii. p. 272.

<sup>3</sup> Slide 11 : Lion Gate of Mycenae.

<sup>4</sup> Slide 12 : Cretan gem, *B.S.A.*, vii., fig. 9.

<sup>5</sup> Slide 13 : Phoenician cippus. Baetyl triad.

Now sometimes the eikon keeps its place, performs its proper function, is felt to be a votive offering, an illustration, not an object of worship. Such was in the main the case with the god Hermes. On a terra-cotta relief<sup>1</sup> we have the two forms side by side, the herm of worship and the human eikon. Perhaps *we* are most familiar with our Homeric Olympian Hermes, our goodly young messenger-god with the golden staff and the winged sandals. But however careless we are we can scarcely forget, and even literature reminds us, that the Hermes of actual worship was a herm.

It was the mutilation of images such as these that raised even educated Athens to a frenzy of fear. Do you suppose they would have cared a serious jot if some one had knocked down or mutilated the Hermes of Praxiteles, a mere eikon? Not they.

The slide before you<sup>2</sup> shows Hermes half eikonised, but a late bronze patera<sup>3</sup> shows indeed the eikon Hermes and his many attributes—the artist is bent on telling all he knows about the god—but behind, surmounted by cock and tortoise, is the genuine old divine pillar.

I could show you a multitude of pillar-gods, more or less eikonic: Dionysus, the Dioscuri, the Charites, Apollon Agnieus. But I must pass now at once to the other face of the truth. Eikonism illustrates, but it also obscures. Eikonism, making a human picture, begets a human story; it generates mythology. Mythology, by its human interest, tends to obscure divinity.

Take Atlas.<sup>4</sup> We all know that Atlas was a pillar. Which of us remembers that he was a pillar-god of the old order that came before Zeus, the old Sky-gods, the Ouraniones, the Titans? Which of us remembers that he

<sup>1</sup> Slide 14 : the Hermes and herm. Hellenistic relief.

<sup>2</sup> Slide 15 : Herm and tree. Conze, *Heroen und Göttergestalten*, Tafel 69, 2.

<sup>3</sup> Slide 16 : Hermes aneikonic and eikonic (bronze patera).

<sup>4</sup> Slide 17 : zodiacal light-pillar.



was the husband of Selene, the father of Hesperos, the Hyads and the Pleiads? How should we remember, when mythologist and literary eikonist have been at work in their wicked, magical way, giving to these old Sky-potencies human shape and setting; when Euripides has filled our hearts with longing for—

The strand of the Daughters of the Sunset,  
The Apple-tree, the singing and the gold;  
Where the mariner must stay him from his onset,  
And the red wave is tranquil as of old;  
Yea, beyond that Pillar of the End,  
That Atlas guardeth, would I wend.<sup>1</sup>

The spell of it is half unconscious, no doubt. Atlas *has* and holds the Pillar, he no longer *is*. How should a plain man go on worshipping his plain Pillar-god with that sort of Siren singing in his ears?

Atlas, Pillar-god of the west: but which of us remembers that the Pillar-god of the east is *Prometheus*?<sup>2</sup> We all of us know, of course, that Prometheus was a god. Sophocles<sup>3</sup> is explicit:

ἐν δ' ὁ πυρφόρος θεὸς

Τιτὰν Προμηθεύς.

Now watch the eikonist, literary and artistic, at work: compare the vase-painting before you with the account of Hesiod.<sup>4</sup>

And Atlas the broad heaven  
By harsh necessity upholds, with head  
And tireless hands—hard by the Hesperids  
Clear singing at earth's verge; such was the lot  
That Zeus the counsellor ordained. There too  
Wily Prometheus did he bind with bonds  
That galled, midway a pillar, and he set  
A great winged eagle on to gorge his liver  
Immortal.

<sup>1</sup> Eur. *Hipp.*, 742-747, trans. by Mr. Gilbert Murray.

<sup>2</sup> Slide 18: Cyrenaic kylix. Vatican, Gerhard, *Vasenbilder*, p. 86.

<sup>3</sup> Soph. *Oed. Col.*, 55.

<sup>4</sup> Hes. *Theog.*, 517-522 (δῆσε δ' ἀλυκοπέδῃσι Προμηθεά ποικιλόβουλον δεσμοῖς ἀργαλέοις μέσον δια κίον' ἐλάσσας).

We know it so well, we miss the absurdities. I scarcely know which is in the worse mythological muddle, Hesiod or the vase-painters. Both know that Atlas and Prometheus belong somehow together, and that one or both have connection with pillars and supporting the heavens. But the eikonist has been at work turning divine pillars into men, and then inventing stories why men had to do as a punishment the work of pillars. Hesiod, being educated and orthodox, has to work in the will of Zeus, for which the vase-painter cares nothing. But he simply revels in retributive torments; he gives poor Atlas a snake to bite him, just in the tender part of his back, and he puts a little fire under Prometheus, the fire-god, making it difficult for him to sit down. Forgetting that Prometheus *is* the pillar, though he remembers it about Atlas, he ties him *to* a pillar which supports, or rather slants down ominously under the east end of the heaven. He sets the eagle pecking at his immortal liver, as if you could possibly support the heavens under circumstances so complex! Further reproducing a convention he does not understand, behind Prometheus he sets the zoomorphic eikon of Prometheus, the eagle, on his aneikonic form, the pillar. Note also that the vase-painter, like the present speaker perhaps, simply has pillars *on* the brain. He positively sets a pillar in the exergue.

I pass to my last instance, Odysseus.<sup>1</sup> We all know how Odysseus, πολυμήχανος, πολύτλας, was bound to the mast to escape the Sirens' singing. Bound to the mast—a curious mast indeed, no mast, a pillar—he stands, not on a ship, but in the depths of the sea.

Dare we think it? At least we cannot forget that he tarried long and seemed much at home in—

The island in whose bounds a Goddess dwells,  
Daughter of Atlas of the guileful spells,  
Who holds the lofty pillars of the earth  
And heaven apart, and knows the deep sea-wells.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Slide 19, black-figured lekythos, Athens. Odysseus bound to the pillar.—*J.S.H.*, xiii., plate 1.      <sup>2</sup> *Od.*, i. 52, trans. by Prof. Mackail.

Kalypso, daughter of the pillar-god Atlas—was she to Odysseus kin as well as kind?

Did time avail, I could say much more of Odysseus, who, besides being a human archer and a wanderer, was also a sky-and-pillar god who went to sea.

Returning to Chartres, to the Pillar and the Maiden, may I resume? When I first saw the kissing of the pillar I confess that my Anglican, nay my Protestant soul recoiled. I caught myself humming automatically, not audibly, hymns about "the heathen in his blindness bows down to wood and stone." Further reflection made me see that the Pillar and the Maiden stood not for one superstition superseded by another, a fetich surmounted by a doll, but for two deep-down tendencies of the human mind, which go, it would seem, always to the making of religion, but are not, I think, equally religious: the Pillar for aneikonism, the Maiden for eikonism. Further I began to see that my own deep inward dissatisfaction with Olympian religion rose from the fact that, while developing and expressing to the full the eikonic element, it disallowed the aneikonic. Not my dissatisfaction alone, otherwise I might well have disputed it. Professor Ramsay has called the Olympians "an idle, superfluous celestial hierarchy."<sup>1</sup> Mr. Gilbert Murray writes, "The Homeric religion is not really a religion at all. The twelve Olympians represent an enlightened compromise made to suit the convenience of a federation."<sup>2</sup> With the "twelveness" of the Olympians, with the Olympian *system*, I have here nothing to do, though it raises most interesting ethnographical problems which we hope Professor Ridgeway will solve. The secret of my discontent lies deeper, and it is that each several well-accredited Olympian is inadequate because he is not a god, but an anthropomorphic *eikon* of a god. I say advisedly the accredited Olympians; for the half Olympians, Demeter, Dionysus, Eros, are more than eikons,

<sup>1</sup> *Dict. of the Bible*, "Religion of Greece."

<sup>2</sup> *The Rise of the Greek Epic*, p. 235.

they are life-spirits, "Things that are," and with them I wage no war.

What is eikonism? What does it do? Eikonism takes the vague unknown fearful thing, and tries to picture it, picture it as known, as distinct, definite—something a man can think about and understand—something that will think about and understand him—something as far rationalised as man himself. The vague *something* becomes a particular *some-one*; to use a modern philosophical jargon, eikonism *pragmatizes* the divine god. Out of the terror and emptiness of the Absolute, or rather its savage inchoate equivalent, men take and fashion just what they can realise and use. Having made the vague something into a definite intelligible *some-one*, articulate and distinct, they give him a life-story and provide him with human relations—eikonism generates immediate mythology. For mythology is only, like eikonism, the attempted expression of the unknown in terms of the known; it usually obscures rather than illuminates religion.

Seeing the god clearly, discretely, segregating him completely as an individual, giving him characteristic attributes, eikonism tends inevitably to polytheism, lands us, in conjunction, of course, with other causes, in Olympianism. That eikonism, when it takes on, as with the Greeks, the form of anthropomorphism, has civilising tendencies, no one will deny. It tends to expurgate the cruder monstrosities, to eliminate vague terror; human gods tend to be humane; but how partial and precarious the process, how liable to swift corruption, the Olympians themselves witness. Its great advance is artistic.

Turn to aneikonism. Aneikonism does not make its gods, it finds them—finds them in the life of nature outside man, or in the psychological experience, the hope, the fear, the hate, the love within him. It begins with fetichism, it ends in symbolism; its feet are in the deep sea-wells and in the primeval slime, its head is swathed in mists and mysticism. Starting with a vague effort to seize and imprison the unknown terror or delight within or without, to make the El



of a moment resident permanently in some tangible Beth, aneikonism is the outcome rather of emotion than of intellect, begotten probably in that early stage when thought and emotion were not segregate as now.

Aneikonism is always imaginatively more awful than eikonism. Lucan saw this of the imageless worship of the Gauls:<sup>1</sup>

“Non vulgatis sacrata figuris  
Numina sic metuunt. . . .  
Tantum terroribus addit  
Quos timeant non nosse deos.”

Shaping no human form, aneikonism tells no human story, has no mythology, no human genealogy, no pseudo-history; it renounces whole domains of art and literature, all the variegated fabric and fancies of polytheism. Its tendency is towards monotheism and pantheism. It generates cosmogonies rather than theologies, and from these cosmogonies is born a rude and primitive philosophy. Hence, though the gods of aneikonism are not scientific, they are not wholly irreconcilable with science; they are life principles within the whole of nature, not impossible, unthinkable, outside creators and rulers.

Turn to ritual. The ritual of eikonism is simple, and easily intelligible. Having made the divine into a man, it treats him as such, offers sacrifice to him, prays to him, praises him. The ritual of aneikonism at its lowest is magical; it aims at direct control of unknown forces, of things that are. Seeking the virtue of magical contact, aneikonism kisses its pillar. Aneikonism will not sacrifice or pray or praise. It holds no human traffic with “fabulous immortal men.” It is at once, above and below that. At its highest, aneikonic ritual, being monotheistic or pantheistic, aims at union; in a word it is sacramental, mystical.

I had often wondered why the Olympians—Apollo,

<sup>1</sup> iii. 415-417.

Athena, even Zeus, always vaguely irritated me, and why the mystery gods, their shapes and ritual, Demeter, Dionysus, the cosmic Eros, drew and drew me. I see it now. It is just that these mystery gods represent the supreme golden moment achieved by the Greek, and the Greek only, in his incomparable way. The mystery gods *are* eikonic, caught in lovely human shapes ; but they are life-spirits barely held ; they shift and change. Aeschylus, arch-mystic, changes his Erinyes into Eumenides, and is charged with impiety. Dionysus is a human youth, lovely with curled hair, but in a moment he is a Wild Bull, and a Burning Flame. The beauty and the thrill of it !

Finally, it has been suggested to me that eikonism and aneikonism in their ultimate analysis represent the workings of those two factors of our being with which modern science is now and rightly, but so tardily, much concerned, the conscious and the subconscious. The subconscious makes for fusion, union, emotion, ecstasy ; the conscious for segregation, discrimination, analysis, clarity of vision. On the action and interaction of these two our whole spiritual vitality would seem to depend. It is a far-reaching thought. I believe it to be true ; but this is not the place or the hour, and I am not the person, to discuss it. But of this much I am sure, that the tendency to eikonism or aneikonism is temperamental ; and there is, I hope, room in the world for all temperaments. I throw myself on your mercy as a mystic and aneikonist. At Chartres, when I turned to leave the Cathedral, when the salutation to Mary the Maiden was over, and her moving lights were quenched, I saw, and I confess without shame that I was glad to see, the faithful throng up through the darkness to kiss that

“Pillar of the End.”



Mr. R. M. DAWKINS

## THE EXCAVATIONS OF THE BRITISH SCHOOL AT ATHENS

THE work of the British School at Athens in the season of 1906-1907 was in two places. A subsidiary excavation was conducted at a site on the Magnesian promontory of Thessaly, whilst the main work of the school continued the previous season's campaign on the site of ancient Sparta.

In Thessaly some geometric tombs were discovered with a rich yield of vases. Near these, the foundations of an ancient church were cleared, interesting both for its plan and for its very fine mosaic pavement.

The main excavation of Sparta was chiefly directed to three objects: (1) the tracing of the course of the city wall, (2) the excavation of the sanctuary of Athena of the Brazen House, and (3), the further excavations of the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia. With regard to the city wall, it has now been possible to trace its general course all round the enceinte, mainly by the stamped tiles which are found on the line where the wall previously existed, the wall itself having often entirely disappeared.

On the Acropolis, just behind the theatre, were found the scanty remains of the famous temple of Athena of the Brazen House. A series of important statuettes were discovered, a long archaic inscription, and a very fine early Panathenaic amphora. There was evidence to prove that the sanctuary goes back to very early times.

The sanctuary of Artemis Orthia is now proved to consist



of a temple, in front of which is a large theatrical building, bearing to the façade of the temple the relation of the *cavea* of a theatre to the stage building. In the middle of the arena thus formed was found the altar of the goddess. The theatre dates to the third century after Christ, and it is well known that the savage rites of Orthia lasted until the very end of Paganism. The temple itself dates from the sixth century B.C., having been, however, rebuilt in the Hellenistic period. The latest altar is Roman, but rests on the remains of an early Greek, and probably a Hellenistic, altar, associated with which are a mass of the charcoal and débris of sacrifices. These remains carry the site back to the sixth century B.C., but there is evidence that the cult is very much older, going back indeed to the earliest days of the Dorian settlement in the Laconian vale. In the sixth century the level of the sanctuary was raised some three or four feet, by a layer of sand and gravel brought from the bed of the Eurotas, no doubt to avoid the danger of floods, to which this low-lying site must always have been subject. After clearing away this sand, we found all over the arena and inside the temple a copious deposit, in some places as much as three feet thick, of votive offerings to the goddess. These are all certainly earlier than the sixth century B.C., and the earliest of them can hardly be later than the ninth century, thus carrying us back to the earliest Dorian period. Amongst these offerings, and of the same period, was found a very large altar resting upon a cobble pavement. This altar can in construction hardly be later than the eighth century, and even before it was built sacrifices were offered upon this spot. This is proved from the fact that underneath the foundations of the altar there is a quantity of burnt charcoal and bones, clearly the débris of burnt offerings. A mass of such débris surrounds the altar itself. The votive offerings of this ancient period are of very great interest and importance. The pottery ranges from Corinthian, at the top of the deposit, through proto-Corinthian, down to a thick stratum of geometric, fitting in thus very well with

a date ranging from the sixth century backwards. With this pottery were found a large number of bronzes of geometric style, *fibulae* and carved ivories. The ivories, which are of unique interest, form the most important part of our finds. There are many small figures, couchant animals, seals and plaques with representations in relief. Many of these plaques adorn the brooches that were used to fasten the characteristic Dorian dress. The *fibulae* are of great importance, as their nearest congeners are found, not in Greece, but in the Iron Age settlements of Austria and the Alpine region. The amber found points also in the same direction, and is a link with the same Iron Age finds. All this evidence strongly supports the theory that the Dorians were invaders who came into Greece from the north of the Balkan Peninsula; and in these early votive offerings we seem to have the peculiar jewellery and ornaments that they brought with them from their earliest home. They brought with them also the savage rites of their goddess Orthia, whose venerated image, according to the legend, was actually brought to Sparta from some other place.

It is remarkable that the altars found are situated one exactly above the other, and thus show a continuous cult of the goddess on the sacred place for at least twelve hundred years. The temple associated with the oldest altar and its mass of votive offerings has not yet been found, but there is good evidence for supposing that its remains are hidden beneath a part of the foundation of the Roman theatrical building. If this be so, it will follow that at the time of the reconstruction of the sanctuary, in the sixth century, the temple was rebuilt in a new place, whilst the altar remained throughout in its original sacred position, as being the real centre of the cult. The further excavation of the site, and in particular the search for this most ancient temple will be the main task of the British school in the coming season.

The results of these excavations are published in the *Annual*

of the British School at Athens. The number which has just appeared contains a full report of the work of Sparta carried out in 1906. This year's work will be published in the next issue.

MR. W. WARDE FOWLER

## THE DECAY OF ROMAN HOME LIFE SHOWN FROM THE HISTORY OF THE ROMAN HOUSE

IN the title of this brief lecture I have used two words which obviously mean different things. "House" means a material object of man's handiwork; "home" suggests a psychological fact. "Home" is for us Britons almost a sacred word. "True to the kindred points of heaven and home"—such a line flashes its meaning on the inward eye, and I need say no more of it.

Was there anything in Roman life answering to our use of this wonderful word? Beyond a doubt there was; and if this is not exactly expressed by the nominative *domus*, it can be felt in some degree in the familiar *domi*. The earliest Roman historical house (I am not here concerned with anything earlier) was really a home. In one sense it was even more a home than ours; the family was, as with us, the basis of society, but by family we have to understand not only the head of the household with his wife, children, and slaves, sometimes perhaps also the families of his sons, but the divine beings who dwelt in the house. As the city-state comprised both human and divine inhabitants, so also did the house, the germ and type of the city. In it was contained all that was dear to the family, all that was essential to its life, both natural and supernatural. And the natural and supernatural elements of home life were inseparably bound up with each other; the head of the family with his Genius; the hearth-fire and the cooking with Vesta; the store-cupboard and its meal with the Penates; and, as now seems probable, the



*Lar familiaris* with the arable land which supported the life of the family.

The worship of the slave was confined to the Lar; but the other members of the *familia* had priestly duties to perform towards all the deities of the *dōmus*, which itself was a sacred place. The real presence of these spirits survived by tradition even into the Augustan age, though no doubt the beautiful idea of the common life of human and divine beings was then practically lost. Ovid<sup>1</sup> could write :

Ante focos lolim scamnis considerare longis  
Mos erat, et mensae credere adesse deos.

Cicero<sup>2</sup> is not merely rhetorical when in pleading the cause of his own lost house before the *pontifices* he exclaims : "What is more holy, what more entirely protected by religious feeling, than the house of each of our citizens?"

But let us note that this Roman house, sanctified by religion, was not originally a town house, but a farmhouse in the country; and I cannot but think that in this passage Cicero is inspired rather by the thought of his own beloved home at Arpinum, itself originally a farmhouse of his family, than by the costly mansion he had bought from Crassus on the Palatine. We must never forget that the Italian *atrium*, the one room of the oldest *domus*, in which the domestic life, human and superhuman, was focussed, was originally the economic as well as the religious centre of an economic unit, the farm. Here worship and work went on together; here were celebrated all the family festivals, on the days of birth, puberty, wedding, and burial. The *atrium* was to the house as the choir to a cathedral. As we study it we can better realise the character of the people who invented it: a character simple, quiet, dignified, disposed rather to action than speech; hard-working, well disciplined, superstitious in our sense of the word (not indeed in the Latin sense), narrow in its very strength. During the late war,

<sup>1</sup> *Fasti*, vi. 305.

<sup>2</sup> *De Domo*, 109.

no one acquainted with the old Roman life could help being struck by the analogy between the Boer farmhouse and the Roman, as between the two types of character.

Now the first step in the decay of home life was perhaps the transition from this simple farmhouse to a house in the city; but unluckily the details are lost to us. Curious questions suggest themselves, *e.g.* whether the household deities were carried bodily (or rather, as we are still in a primitive age, spiritually) into the new abode, or duplicated there, so as to secure the idea of home for both dwellings. One thing we do know, that in due time the farmhouse came to be left in charge of a steward (*vilicus*), and the true home life existed in Rome only. Cato, at the outset of his *De Re Rustica*, describes the *paterfamilias* coming from the city to visit his farm *in rure*, and before he goes his rounds saluting the *Lar familiaris*. This is the only deity of the *villa* which he mentions, and it suggests to me that, as the *Lar* was more closely connected with the land and the slaves than the others, he had remained behind while the others were transferred to the city, or that his duplicate was passed on with them. But this is only conjecture.

Let us pass to the *domus* of the city, and briefly trace its expansion. We shall find that it closely reflects the development of society. In all the town houses of which the ground plan survives, whether at Rome or Pompeii, the old home-centre, the *atrium*, is there, but only as a nucleus with developments. I need not describe its original form and contents, which are familiar to all, nor how the "wings" could be utilised as dining-rooms or wardrobes, how the *tablinum*, opposite the door, could grow into a permanent dining-room, or how a second storey could be added. The point for us is to understand how the little garden behind the *tablinum* could be converted, after the Greek fashion and under a Greek name, into a *peristylum*, *viz.* an open court with a pretty colonnade round it, to which again there might be added other saloons with Greek

names, convenient for many purposes. Thus the house came to be divided into two parts, the Roman and the Greek : the Roman *atrium* and its belongings, and the Greek *peristylum* and its developments; and thus the house reflects the composite character of Roman life, just as do Roman literature and Roman art. Strange to say, it is the Roman part that is retained for reception rooms : it is the *atrium* to which the morning callers are admitted, if they are deemed worthy to penetrate beyond the *vestibulum* ; it is into the Greek part that all the elements of home life have retreated—even in many cases Vesta with the Penates and the Lar ;<sup>1</sup> and there the private life of the family goes on. This change had already been brought about by the time of Plautus, and may be put in the third century B.C., just when Greek influences were beginning to press in in all departments of life, and when social and out-of-door life was getting the better of the old reserve and simplicity. Your *atrium* has become in part a public room ; the atmosphere of the street is penetrating it.

So far I have been speaking of the dwellings of the more important Roman families. But meanwhile a lower population has been gathering in the city, whose families could not afford the luxury of a *domus*, even if space could have been found for so many. So far as we know, they always lived in *insulae*, i.e. great lodging-houses with flats or chambers on several floors. Dionysius (x. 32) puts the beginning of the *insula* as far back as the settlement of the *plebs* on the Aventine. But we unluckily know as little of the history of the *insula* as we do of its life ; we do not know how many families lived in each, what the rooms were like, or how far anything like home life was possible in such circumstances. Had each family here its household gods ? If we could but answer that simple question we should have a flood of light thrown at once on the home life of the *plebs urbana*. Professor De Marchi, who has given special attention to the subject, is inclined to think that there was

<sup>1</sup> De Marchi, *La Religione nella vita domestica*, i. 31 foll.

a common protecting deity for each *insula*, and that the separate dwelling-rooms sheltered human beings only, not divine ones. In *C.I.L.* vi. 65-7 we have a dedication to a *Bona Dea* "*In tutelam insulae*," with which he aptly compares the little altar to be found at the door of the great lodging-houses of Naples at the present day, which serves for the devotions of all the inhabitants. I should myself be inclined to guess that at any rate in early times the separate rooms of the *insula* may have contained some means of private worship, and that a home life might in some sense have been maintained there; but in any case the conditions of life in the Rome of the last three centuries B.C. were not favourable to its maintenance. The self-sufficingness of the real home (*in rure*) was clearly impossible here. Vesta and the Penates must have become gradually superfluous even if they ever had a place here: provisions were only bought for the need of the moment, or procured from the public distribution of corn, and the meal thus obtained was given, as time went on, to *pistores* to be baked. Pliny tells us that baking came in as a trade in 171 B.C., a fact which we may perhaps connect with the growth of *insulae* after the Punic wars and the irruption of new population. Where there was neither permanent store nor daily cooking, neither Penates nor Vesta, what home life could there have been?

It seems likely that all the essentials of home were by the last century of the republic absent in the *insula*; and in this period we meet with another tendency, which steadily worked in the same direction. We know, of course, that in southern climates people live much more out-of-doors, even in the winter, than we do; that in Mediterranean cities like Athens the centre of life came to be more and more the *agora* and other public places. So at Rome, as the city became the pivot on which society turned, whether high or low, and more especially in the last two centuries B.C., we find a beginning made of the building of all those places of public resort, whether for business or pleasure, which



under the empire made Rome the most convenient and sociable city in the world. The *porticus*, the *basilica*, the *circus*, the theatre and the baths, all conspired to shift the centre of human life from the home to the city, from the family to the forum. I know nothing that so well illustrates this change as the first book of Ovid's *Ars Amatoria*. Of family and home life he says nothing, and apparently cares less—it is not life for him; but for the happily unmarried who are without a real home, Rome and all its sights and places of public enjoyment is indeed a Paradise.

For the lower population, apart from the games and other amusements, there was the *popina* and the *taberna* of the kind described in the Virgilian *Copa*, with its small delights of dancing and singing. I am inclined to suspect that these *tabernae* gave shelter for the night to many of the submerged tenth who were really homeless, and slept in such lairs as they could find. What does Tacitus<sup>1</sup> mean by the *cubilia*, which he couples with *tabernae* in describing the places where great numbers were caught and drowned by the great flood of the Tiber in A.D. 69?

But in whatever degree this homelessness of the masses was a fact, the life of the *insula* and the necessity as well as the attraction of the out-of-door life must have helped to weaken the fibre of the urban population. No doubt it made them sharper, as it does in our own towns, but it also made them restless, pleasure-loving, and so too reckless and revolutionary, useless for prompt political or military action.<sup>2</sup> Augustus so clearly saw this, that he reluctantly but deliberately took the line of making this population comfortable in body and mind, by simple petting, so that they might not make every one else uncomfortable, as they had been wont to do.

What I have said about the effects of out-door life on the lower classes applies also to the upper, to which we must now return for the few minutes that are left. The

<sup>1</sup> *Hist.* i. 86.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Sallust, *Cat.* 37.

famous fragment of Lucilius about the fretful contentious life in the Forum applies equally to the rich and poor :

Nunc vero a mani ad noctem, festo atque profesto,  
Totus item pariter populus, plebesque patresque  
lactare indu foro se omnes, decedere nusquam.

All day long, he adds, they do nothing but talk and quarrel, flatter, deceive, and plot. Can the lack of a true home life be better described than in these lines, even if the satirist exaggerates? The *gravitas* of the old Roman character seems to have disappeared with the privacy of the *atrium*. And indeed it is true, in modern as well as ancient life, that *gravitas* is a quality of the home, restlessness a quality of the street. Every one who knows anything of the social life at Rome, or even of the political life only, of the age of Cicero, must have been struck by the instability of character, the infirmity of purpose, the restlessness and love of change, that mark the younger men and women of that time. Of Caelius, Milo, Curio, and their kind, we can but say that, "Unstable as water, they could not excel." Their contemporary Lucretius<sup>1</sup> paints this restlessness in a passage which brings home to us vividly the relation between the disposition of man and the way he is housed :

Ut nunc plerumque videmus  
Quid sibi quisque velit nescire et quaerere semper  
Commutare locum quasi onus deponere possit.  
Exit saepe foras magnis ex aedibus ille,  
Esse domi cum pertaesumst, subitoque revertit,  
Quippe foris nihilo melius qui sentiat esse.  
Currit agens mannos ad villam praecipitanter  
Auxilium tectis quasi ferre ardentibus instans :  
Oscitat extemplo, tetigit cum limina villae,  
Aut abit in somnum gravis atque oblivia quaerit,  
Aut etiam properans urbem petit atque revisit.

These wonderful lines aptly introduce the last remarks I have to make about the decay of Roman home life. While the masses are homeless in the sense of being without a

<sup>1</sup> iii. 1060 f.

house, and often perhaps without even a room of their own, the wealthy are building themselves palatial residences on the hills of Rome, too magnificent to be worthy of the name of home, rather indeed, as Sallust says, like cities, and then selling them again,—for the constant buying and selling of town houses is one of the most curious features of that age; and not only that, but they are doing the same thing in the country, buying land wherever the fancy takes them, and building villas with all the latest improvements, vying with each other in the invention of new luxuries both in house and grounds. I say nothing here of the great mansions of Baiae and Bauli, which, if they were homes at all, were homes of vice; but let us reflect that every man, even of such moderate means as Cicero's, had his villas scattered about Latium and Campania, answering the purpose of our modern hotels at "health resorts." This means restlessness, and at the same time it helps to stimulate it—another point in which the life of that last century B.C. reminds us of our time. Neither the palace in the city nor the villa in the country could really be a home. Cicero, indeed, as I have already said, did feel that his ancestral villa at Arpinum was his real home—the charming introduction to the second book of his *De Legibus* proves that; but all his other villas, even the loved one at Tusculum, are convenient resorts and little more. He never mentions their household deities. The *atrium* has disappeared in them, as in all the villas of which we know the ground-plan—or rather, it has become the kitchen, it is relegated to purely material purposes.

Cicero was a good man with high aims, but I do not doubt that this multiplication of homes was bad for him. For steady thought or persistent work, one must have an abiding-place. I would suggest that the want of the power of intellectual concentration, of deep and sustained thought, among the Romans, as well as the looseness of their family life in these later periods of their history, may be brought into connection with the history of the Roman house.

You will doubtless have noticed one apparently unpardon-

able omission in what I have been saying: I have hardly even referred to the position of woman in the house,—and is it not woman, above all else, that makes a house into a home? But the fatal *clepsydra* has been haunting me all through; I have had to sacrifice the *materfamilias*. It would be interesting to go over the story again and to fit her into it, and I will just briefly indicate how this might be done.

First, we should have to see how the characteristic Roman lady of the best time, the type which so strongly attracted the gentle and homely Plutarch, and through Plutarch has descended to Shakespeare, is inseparable from the *atrium* where she sat and spun and ruled. To know that dignified matron you must know the old Roman house; and to understand how that house was a home, you must know the Roman matron. Secondly, we should note that the period in which that noble type of lady gradually disappears, losing in *gravitas* and self-restraint, while she gains her legal freedom and makes a *monde* for herself, exactly corresponds with that in which the *atrium* ceases to be a private room, in which the life of the *insula* begins and grows, the charms and conveniences of out-door life in the city are ever on the increase, and restlessness and homelessness too are induced by the multiplication of residences. Reading the other day Mr. A. C. Clark's new Oxford text of Asconius, I was touched by a few words, unintentionally pathetic, in which it is made plain that the mistress and the *atrium* are no longer inseparable. The mob broke into the house of Milo and broke up, among other things, the spinning materials which were there *ex vetere more*. They were there as a symbol of what had in reality vanished. Still, we must not be too sure that behind the scenes of public life, which we call history, there was not yet a home life maintained, chiefly by the womanly graces, which are after all to be found in all ages. Such a home life lives recorded for ever in the famous inscription which we call *The Praise of Turia*,<sup>1</sup> dating from the very

<sup>1</sup> *C.I.L.*, vi. 1527.



time when we are apt to think of Roman married life as at its lowest ebb. As I read it through again I feel that there is indeed a home life that transcends the material limits of the house, and is based on the eternal laws of Love and Duty.

# INDEX TO THE PROCEEDINGS

## A.—COMMUNICATIONS AND DEBATES

	PAGE
GREEK AND THE CLASSICAL RENAISSANCE OF TO-DAY . . . . .	33
PRONUNCIATION OF GREEK . . . . .	1
TEACHING OF LATIN IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS. . . . .	16
THE DECAY OF ROMAN HOME LIFE SHOWN FROM THE HISTORY OF THE ROMAN HOUSE . . . . .	83
THE EXCAVATIONS OF THE BRITISH SCHOOL AT ATHENS. . . . .	79
THE HERITAGE OF UNREASON IN SYNTACTICAL METHOD . . . . .	53
THE PILLAR AND THE MAIDEN . . . . .	65

## B.—ACTA

ACCOUNTS ADOPTED . . . . .	14
OFFICERS AND COUNCIL ELECTED . . . . .	12
PLACE AND DATE OF NEXT GENERAL MEETING . . . . .	14

### REPORTS :

COMMITTEE ON GREEK PRONUNCIATION (GENERALLY APPROVED)	8
COUNCIL (ADOPTED). . . . .	12
CURRICULA COMMITTEE (REPORT RECEIVED) . . . . .	20
CURRICULA COMMITTEE (RESOLUTIONS CARRIED)	27, 29, 31, 32

### VOTES OF THANKS :

TO THE ORGANISERS, ETC., OF THE CAMBRIDGE MEETING . . . . .	15
TO THE PRESIDENT . . . . .	15

*C.—NAMES OF THOSE WHO TOOK PART  
IN THE PROCEEDINGS*

	PAGE		PAGE
BELL, G. C. . . . .	20	HEARD, W. A. . . . .	7
BERNAYS, A. E. . . . .	7	KENYON, F. G. . . . .	12, 13
BULL, R. . . . .	25	LEWIS, Mrs. . . . .	7
BURROWS, R. M. . . . .	7	LYTTTELTON, E. . . . .	24, 31
BUTCHER, S. H. (President) 8, 14,		MACKAIL, J. W. . . . .	5, 20, 29
16, 27, 33		MORTON, Miss M. . . . .	26
CASPARI, M. O. B. . . . .	15	MURRAY, GILBERT . . . . .	13, 31
CHOLMELEY, R. F. . . . .	27	PAPILLON, T. L. . . . .	12, 14, 15
COLLINS, A. J. F. . . . .	7	POPE, G. H. . . . .	15
COMPTON, W. C. . . . .	7	POSTGATE, J. P. . . . .	21, 27
CONWAY, R. S. . . . .	1	RIDGEWAY, W. . . . .	7, 8
COOK, A. B. . . . .	7	RUSHBROOKE, W. G. . . . .	3
CORNFORD, F. M. . . . .	5	SANDYS, J. E. . . . .	6
DAWKINS, R. M. . . . .	8, 79	SLOMAN, A. . . . .	7
DUNSTALL, Miss M. C. . . . .	29	SMITH, NOWELL . . . . .	13
FLETCHER, F. . . . .	12, 24, 32	SONNENSCHN, E. A. 3, 9, 12, 14,	
FOWLER, W. WARDE . . . . .	8, 83	16, 32	
GAVIN, Miss E. . . . .	25	WALTERS, W. C. F. . . . .	14
HALE, W. G. . . . .	8, 15, 53	WILLIAMS, BASIL . . . . .	29
HARRISON, E. . . . .	7	WITTON, W. F. . . . .	26
HARRISON, Miss J. E. . . . .	8, 65	WOOD, Miss M. H. . . . .	24
HEADLAM, J. W. . . . .	13		

## GREEK PRONUNCIATION

(*Interim Report of the Pronunciation Committee, October, 1907.*)

THE Pronunciation Committee of the Classical Association, which has already reported on Latin Pronunciation, is empowered also "to consider what changes in the present pronunciation of Greek should be recommended for general adoption."

In drawing up the following scheme, the Committee has considered only the pronunciation of the vowels and consonants in Greek, postponing at present the more difficult problem of accental pronunciation.

The following suggestions are not put forward as constituting a complete or final scheme, but as approximations which, for teaching purposes, may be regarded as practicable, and at the same time as a great advance on the present usage, both for clearness in teaching and for actual likeness to the ancient sounds.

### *Quantity.*

As in Latin, the quantities of the vowels should be strictly observed. For example, the short vowels in *πατήρ*, *τίνω*, *χορός*, *ῥόδωρ*, should be carefully distinguished (by prolongation, not by stress) from the long vowels in *φράτρια*, *κῆνῶ*, *χώρα*, *ῥμείς*.

### *Vowels.*

*ā* and *ǣ*, *ī* and *ȳ*, *ε* and *ο* (the last two being always short) may be pronounced as the corresponding vowels in Latin : i.e.

*ā*, as *a* in *father*.

*ǣ*, as *a* in *aħa*.

*ī*, as *ee* in *feed*.

*ȳ*, as *i* in Fr. *piquet*, nearly as Eng. *i* in *fit*.

*ε*, as *e* in *fret*.

*ο*, as *o* in *not*.

*η* (long open *e*) as *è* in Fr. *il mène*

(nearer Eng. *ea* in *bear* than *ey* in *grey*).



*ω* (long open o) as o in Fr. *encore*

(nearer Eng. *oa* in *broad* than Eng. o in *bone*).

*υ* as French *ũ* in *du pain*.

*ῥ* as French *ũ* in *rue* or Germ. *ü* in *grün*.

### *Diphthongs.*

*αι* = *a* + *i* as Eng. *ai* in *Isaiah*.

*οι* = *o* + *i* as Eng. *oi* in *oil*.

*υι* = *υ* + *i* as Fr. *ui* in *lui*.

In *α η υ* the first vowel was long, and the second only faintly heard.

*ει*. The precise sound of *ει* is difficult to determine, but in Attic Greek it was never confused with *η* till a late period, and to maintain the distinction clearly it is perhaps best for English students to pronounce it as Eng. *eye*, though in fact it must have been nearer to Fr. *ée* in *passée*, Eng. *ey* in *grey*. The Greek *Ἀλφειός* is Latin *Alphēus*.

*αυ* = *au*, as Germ. *au* in *Haus*, nearly as Eng. *ow* in *gown*.

*ευ* = *eu*, nearly as Eng. *ew* in *few*.

*ου* as Eng. *oo* in *moon*, Fr. *ou* in *roue*.

### *Consonants.*

*π, β, τ, δ, κ* and *γ* as *p, b, t, d, c* or *k* and *g* respectively in Lat. ; except that *γ* before *γ, κ* and *χ* is used to denote the nasal sound heard in Eng. *ankle, anger*.

*ρ, λ, μ, ν* as Lat. *r, l, m, n*.

*σ, ς* always as Lat. *s* (Eng. *s* in *mouse*), except before *β, γ* and *μ*, where the sound was as in Eng. *has been, has gone, has made* : e.g. *ἄσβεστος, φάσγανον, ἑσμός*.

### *Aspirates.*

The Committee has carefully considered the pronunciation of the aspirated consonants in Greek. It is certain that the primitive pronunciation of *χ, θ, φ* was as *k.h, t.h, p.h*, that is as *k, t, p* followed by a strong breath, and the Committee is not prepared to deny that this pronunciation lasted down into the classical period. Further, there is no doubt that the adoption of this pronunciation makes much in Greek accidence that is otherwise obscure perfectly comprehensible. If *φαίνω* be pronounced *πhαίνω*, it is readily understood why the reduplicated perfect is

πεπληνα; but if it be pronounced *ταινω*, the perfect, pronounced *πεψηνα*, is anomalous. The relation of *θρίξ τήριξ* to *τρίχα τρικη* becomes perfectly intelligible, the *h*, which can be pronounced with difficulty, if at all, before *s*, having shifted itself to the *τ*. This advantage seems to be one of the reasons why it has been adopted in practice by a certain number of English teachers.

In the course of time the pronunciation of the aspirates changed by degrees to that of fricatives, which is now current in most districts of Greece, *φ* becoming *f*, *θ* pronounced as *th* in English "thin," and *χ* acquiring the sound of the German *ch*.<sup>1</sup>

If the later sounds are accepted, no change in the common pronunciation of *θ* and *φ* in England will be required, but it will remain desirable to distinguish between the sounds of *κ* and *χ*, which are at present confused: *ἄκος* and *ἄχος*, *καίνω* and *χαίνω* being now pronounced alike. This may be done by giving *χ* the sound of *kh*, or of German *ch*, as in *auch*. The Committee would, on the whole, recommend the latter alternative as being more familiar in German, Scotch, and Irish place-names.<sup>2</sup>

The Committee, though loth to do anything to discourage the primitive pronunciation of the aspirates, has not been able to satisfy itself that it would be easy to introduce this pronunciation into schools to which it is strange; and it is of opinion that it is not advisable to recommend anything at present that might increase the labour of the teacher or the student of Greek. It therefore abstains from recommending any change in the common pronunciation of the aspirates except in the case of *χ*.

S. H. BUTCHER, *Chairman*.

R. S. CONWAY.

ROBINSON ELLIS.

C. A. A. DU PONTET.

R. C. GILSON.

J. P. POSTGATE.

W. H. D. ROUSE.

W. G. RUSHBROOKE.

S. F. WINBOLT, *Hon. Sec.*

M. H. WOOD.

<sup>1</sup> The dates and stages of these changes cannot as yet be settled with precision. But the practical choice seems to be between the earliest and the latest values, though there is no doubt whatever that a distinct *h* was heard in all these sounds long after the 5th century B.C.

<sup>2</sup> The word *χθονός* is pronounced with one aspirate only.

## REPORT OF THE CURRICULA COMMITTEE ON THE TEACHING OF LATIN IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS

THIS Report falls into two sections, (A) that relating to the course of study in schools with a leaving age of eighteen or nineteen, and in schools preparatory thereto, (B) that relating to secondary schools under a local education authority.

### (A) ON THE TEACHING OF LATIN IN SCHOOLS WITH A LEAVING AGE OF EIGHTEEN OR NINETEEN, AND SCHOOLS PREPARATORY THERETO.

We have not felt it to be our duty to consider in detail the character or scope of the teaching that a child should receive in the early stages of its education, but we venture to express our conviction that it is desirable that the greatest importance should be attached at an early stage to the study of English. Before children begin the study of a foreign language they should have learned to use their mother tongue with some degree of correctness and fluency, both orally and in writing, and have acquired a good stock of words and a habit of orderly and connected thought. They should also have learned to read aloud with accuracy and intelligence, and, so far as possible, with taste; and they should have become familiar with a considerable quantity of good English prose and verse of a character suited to their age. A feeling for literature may thus be developed which, while of the highest value in itself, will also help the pupil afterwards to appreciate the classics. An elaborate study of English grammar is not useful at this stage. In English it is not form but function which in the main distinguishes the "parts of speech," and the chief aim of teaching should be to attain a mastery of the broad principles of sentence

structure and the functions of words. The teaching of the elements of English should not be encumbered with distinctions which are not vital to English itself, but the fundamental grammatical notions should be taught in such a way as to prove a help when pupils approach the study of other languages.

Assuming, therefore, that the study of the mother tongue should precede the study of any foreign language, we desire also to call attention to the disadvantages attending the common practice of beginning a second foreign language before the pupil has acquired an adequate knowledge of the first, and a third foreign language before the pupil has acquired an adequate knowledge of either the first or the second. The elements of three foreign languages taught concurrently take up a very large portion of the school day, and pupils of only average ability naturally make very slow progress in any of the three languages, and consequently tend to lose interest in their work and to do it mechanically. We think that better results would be obtained if it were recognised that learners should never begin two languages at or about the same time, but should have been well grounded in the elements of one language before beginning a second, and well grounded in the elements of the second before beginning a third.

An adult who desires to learn a language finds that he succeeds best by working at it every day. In the same way we think that the best results are obtained at school when a pupil beginning a new language has a daily lesson in it. We have, however, good reason to believe that so obvious a principle is often forgotten, especially in girls' schools as regards the teaching of classics, and in some boys' schools which attempt a very wide curriculum. Yet if several days are allowed to elapse between one lesson and another, the original impression is often effaced and the work has to be done afresh. The method which we are recommending also tends to keep the pupils interested in their work and encouraged by the sense of making progress. We think that as a general rule pupils should devote themselves to the study of their first foreign language for at least a year before any other foreign language is taken up, and to their second foreign language for at least a year before a third foreign language is begun. When, as will often be the case, a modern language taught colloquially and at an early age is the first



foreign language studied, we think that the study of Latin should not be postponed beyond the age of eleven. Greek should not be begun until the pupil is at least able to translate an easy piece of narrative Latin, and is so familiar with the commonest inflexions and constructions that he can use them correctly in composing Latin sentences of a simple character.

In the early stages of learning a language great demands on the memory are inevitable, and there is always a danger of making these demands excessive by putting before the pupil a bewildering mass of unfamiliar words and inflexions. In teaching the elements of Latin, we should restrict ourselves to what is of frequent occurrence. The really useful words, inflexions, and constructions should be introduced gradually and thoroughly worked into the pupil's mind, by constant practice in translating from and into Latin. By thus concentrating attention on what is of common occurrence it should be possible for the pupil, in a comparatively short time, to acquire a working knowledge of the language such as will enable him to pass without great difficulty to the intelligent reading of a Latin author.

It may be worth while to point out that the principle of concentrating attention on what is common and essential is constantly violated in practice. If we study the grammar questions set in the scholarship examinations of some of the public schools or in University Matriculation Examinations, we find such forms asked for as the ablative plural of *filia*,<sup>1</sup> the accusative singular of nouns like *tussis*, *amussis*, the genitive plural of *accipiter* or *panis*, the gender of *gryps*, *hydrops*, or *acer* ("maple-tree"), the forms of Greek nouns as declined in Latin, and rare or non-existent comparatives and superlatives and "principal parts" of verbs, to say nothing of forms which, though

<sup>1</sup> *Filiabus* is not wanted for the purpose of reading Latin literature until the pupil comes to the *Civil War* of Caesar (where it occurs once, II. 108. 3, for the sake of distinction from *filiis*) and the 24th book of Livy (where it also occurs once, ch. 26. 2, according to the MSS.; but the reading is doubted by Weissenborn); and here a reference to the dictionary will give the information required. Elsewhere Livy uses *filiis* in the sense of "daughters" (XXXVIII. 57. 2, *ex duabus filiis*); so too Plautus twice, without any word to indicate the gender, such as *duabus* (*Stich.* 567, *Poen.* 1128).

they occur in classical authors, are no necessary part of the mental outfit of the beginner. The method of attempting to commit the whole of the accidence to memory at an early stage without practice in the use of the forms learned is kept alive by such questions, and the study of grammar is thus divorced from the study of actual speech. A similar criticism may be applied to the teaching of rare syntactical types, especially if they rest on imperfect evidence, such as *non dubito quin futurum sit ut urbs capiatur*. An examination of the Public School Entrance Scholarship papers, reprinted in Vol. VI. of the Special Reports on Educational Subjects (Board of Education), will show that many of the sentences set in them are not well suited to test, as they should, whether the candidate possesses a practical knowledge of the common constructions and a good working vocabulary.

As to the particular shape in which this practice in common words, common forms, and common constructions should be given, more than one method is possible. The use of a classical author at the stage contemplated is, indeed, excluded by the fact that no classical author satisfies the conditions; nor could extracts from the classics be made which would contain only the words, forms, and constructions required. But it is possible to present vocabulary and grammar either in the form of isolated sentences or in the shape of a connected narrative specially written for the purpose. Perhaps the best plan is to combine the two—that is, to construct a very simple narrative for translation into English and isolated sentences for translation into Latin. It is possible, though not easy, to write a connected narrative in which the new grammatical points are systematically introduced and the vocabulary gradually extended. The merits of this method are that sentences woven together so as to form a continuous discourse need not be more difficult or varied in construction, and are from the nature of the case more easily intelligible in their context than isolated sentences; that words, forms and constructions embedded in a context of meaning acquire a certain energy and power of impressing themselves on the memory which they lack in isolation; and that the mere interest of the story contributes to the acquisition of the art of reading, as distinct from construing. On the other hand, exercises consisting of disconnected sentences for translation into Latin have

their value. It is easier, if the writer does not attempt to form them into a continuous passage, to introduce exactly the words and grammatical forms in which the pupil requires practice, to concentrate his attention on some puzzling construction, excluding for the time other difficulties, whether of vocabulary or grammar, and by reiteration to make him thoroughly familiar with it. It is, perhaps, worth remarking that the pupil will not learn Latin from doing the sentences wrong: it is essential that, if approximate correctness is not attained, he should rewrite the sentences in which he has made mistakes, so that he may retain in his memory the impression of an idiomatic piece of Latin.

In accordance with the recommendation of our interim report presented in January, 1906, the Classical Association has adopted *Public Schools.* the principle "that in the lower and middle forms of boys' public schools Greek should be taught only with a view to the intelligent reading of Greek authors." This principle, as we explained in our report, does not exclude a study of grammar or the practice of simple forms of composition as means to the reading of Greek literature. But in Latin the function of grammar and composition must be defined differently; they should be studied not only as a means to the intelligent reading of Latin authors, but also as a linguistic discipline and with a view to training the mind in habits of clear and logical thinking. Perhaps, however, what needs more emphasis is that the literary and historic interest of the authors read should not be neglected even in the earlier stages of learning. It is too common even at the present day for teachers to set up a mechanical conception of Latin as a merely formal gymnastic, instead of regarding it as a literature capable of exerting a strong attraction upon the pupil and of becoming a powerful influence for the training of taste, the development of character, and the awakening of intellectual ambitions. It should never be forgotten that Latin literature has largely contributed to making the life and literature of the civilised world of to-day what it is. These two ends of formal and literary study are, however, not inconsistent with one another. Latin may and should be so taught as to realise them both at the same time. The practice of composition is of the utmost importance, not only as developing habits of clear thinking, but as giving a fuller insight into the spirit of the Latin language.

The ends to be kept in view in the study of Latin are, therefore, two: (i) the intelligent reading of the more important

*Objects of the study of Latin.* Latin authors; (ii) a linguistic and logical discipline. In connexion with the first of these ends, the Committee desires to call attention to the importance

of planning out the course of reading on some well-considered principle, so as to make it as profitable as possible and representative of what is best in Latin literature.

Considering the fact that the majority of pupils will not read many new Latin books after they have left school, the *Course of reading.* Committee feels that teachers cannot be too careful in the selections which they make of authors for

study; much energy is wasted at the present time by a haphazard method of procedure. The Committee has therefore considered (a) which authors are most worth reading at school, and (b) in what order they should be taken, in view partly of their linguistic difficulty, partly of the suitability of their contents for reading at different ages. In drawing up the scheme appended to this part of the Report the Committee has had the advantage of the assistance of a number of experienced teachers who have co-operated with a Sub-Committee appointed for this purpose<sup>1</sup>; but the scheme is submitted only as a specimen, and not as necessarily the best that could be devised.

The suggestions of the scheme are based on the supposition that the pupil will go through a preliminary course of work on a Reader. Whether this preliminary course lasts for two years or one will depend on the method of teaching employed. If Latin is taken after some mastery of French has been acquired, it may be possible to limit the preliminary grammatical work to one year. Otherwise two years will probably be necessary.

In making its selection of authors the Committee has tried to bear in mind the claims of both subject-matter and style. In most cases authors worth reading for their subject-matter are also worth reading for their style (*e.g.* Livy and Vergil);

<sup>1</sup> The Sub-Committee consisted of Sir A. F. Hort and Professor Sonnenschein, together with the following co-opted members: Professor E. V. Arnold, Mr. C. G. Botting, Mr. Butcher, Mr. M. O. B. Caspari, Mr. R. C. Gilson, Professor Hardie, Professor Mackail, Mr. M. J. Rendall, Miss Slater, Mr. H. Williamson.



but where the two claims are to some extent opposed the Committee has chosen such works as on the whole seem best suited to a particular stage of learning. For the earlier stages the interest of the subject-matter is of more importance than the beauty of the style; the capacity to appreciate style is developed later, and it is at the later stages that the style of the authors read begins to exercise an important influence on composition.

The Committee has deliberately rejected certain authors as of inferior educational value—*e.g.* in the early stage, Eutropius and Cornelius Nepos; in the middle stage, Sallust<sup>1</sup>; in the latest stage, the Silver Age epic poets, whose works it is thought should form no part of the school curriculum, but be reserved for University study.

The Committee thinks that encouragement should be given to the practice of not limiting the amount of reading done in school to what pupils have time to prepare out of school. The conventional system of "prepared construing" seems to need considerable modification. The traditional course of reading may be widened if time is allowed in class for reading ahead after the translation of the passages set for preparation; but passages read as unseens in class may with advantage be set for revision out of class.

The principle of using selections may be safely applied wherever it does not involve scrappiness of reading—*e.g.* it may be applied without sacrifice of unity to the Odes, Satires, and Epistles of Horace, and to the Elegies of Propertius. On the other hand, the principle of continuity should be more thoroughly applied than at present to certain works; the *Aeneid*, for example, should be treated so far as possible as a literary whole, the several books being read in consecutive order, though possibly with some omissions of the less important parts, which might be read in a good English verse translation. In this connexion the Committee desires to call attention to the important difference which exists between reading a book

<sup>1</sup> The rejection of Sallust in favour of Livy has the support of Quintilian (*Inst. Orat.* II. 5. 19). In answer to the question, "qui sint legendi incipientibus?" he says, "Ego optimos quidem et statim et semper, sed tamen eorum candidissimum quemque et maxime expositum velim, ut *Livium a pueris magis quam Sallustium.*"

## REPORT OF THE CURRICULA COMMITTEE 105

with some omissions and reading a collection of excerpts selected with a view to their individual beauty of thought or diction. By means of omissions it becomes possible in the case of long works, such as the history of Livy or the *Aeneid* of Vergil, to get a connected view of the story or message which the author has to communicate: whereas, if the attention of the pupil is confined to one or two books, he necessarily fails to get an idea of the work as a whole. To omit parts of a work which is too long to be read in its entirety is, therefore, the only practicable method of acquiring an understanding of its contents and unity.

### A SPECIMEN COURSE OF LATIN READING FOR SCHOOLS WITH A LEAVING AGE OF EIGHTEEN OR NINETEEN, AND SCHOOLS PREPARATORY THERETO

#### I. PRELIMINARY STAGE (AGES 10 OR 11-14)

##### 1ST YEAR:

Preparatory Course.

##### 2ND YEAR:

*Prose*: Simplified Caesar—*e.g.* part of *B.G.* IV., V. (*The Invasion of Britain*); or,  
Simplified Livy—*e.g.* passages from Books II. and IX. The passages selected should form a continuous narrative.

*Verse*: Some fables of Phaedrus (omitting the "morals," which are difficult) and some easy selections from the elegiac poems of Ovid.

##### 3RD YEAR:

*Prose*: Dramatic scenes and incidents from Livy—*e.g.* passages from Books V., VII., VIII. (not simplified); or,  
Episodes (not simplified) from Books V., VI., VII. of Caesar's *Gallic War*.

*Verse*: Stories from Ovid's *Fasti* and *Metamorphoses*, or  
A miscellaneous selection of Latin verse.

#### II. ADVANCED STAGE (AGES 14-18)

##### 1ST YEAR:

*Prose*: Cicero: one or more of the easier orations, such as *In Catilinam*, I., III., *Pro Lege Manilia*, *De Provinciis Consularibus*, *Pro Ligario*, together with passages of some length from other speeches, such as the *Verrines*, *Actio* II., Books IV. and V., and some stories of Roman life or easy letters of Cicero.

*Verse*: Vergil, *Aeneid*, I. and II.

## 2ND YEAR :

*Prose* : Livy, XXI. and XXII. (as much as possible of these books, not omitting the battle of Cannae in the later part of Book XXII.).

*Verse* : Vergil, *Aeneid*, III., IV. and V. (Considerable portions of Book V. might be taken for rapid reading in class.)

A few select Odes of Horace.

## 3RD YEAR :

*Prose* : One of the longer speeches of Cicero, or part of the *Civil War* of Caesar, together with the *Somnium Scipionis* and the praise of literature in the *Pro Archia* (sections 12-32).

The *Agricola* of Tacitus.

*Verse* : Vergil, *Aeneid*, VI. and parts of VII.—XII.

Select Odes of Horace.

## 4TH YEAR :

At this stage there will naturally be much freedom of choice.

(a) The following books are suggested as necessary to complete the above scheme of reading :—

*Prose* : One or more books of the *Annals* or *Histories* of Tacitus.

One or more books of a philosophical or rhetorical treatise of Cicero (e.g. *Tusculan Disputations*, Book V., or a book of the *De Oratore*).

A few selected letters of Cicero.

*Verse* : Horace : select Satires and Epistles.

Selections from Catullus and Propertius.

Lucretius : Book V. and selections from other books.

Juvenal : three or four Satires.

(b) The following books are suggested as less essential ; some of these might be taken for rapid reading in class :—

*Prose* : Cicero, *De Amicitia* and *De Senectute*.

Livy : some of the later books.

Quintilian, Book X.

Seneca : a treatise such as the *De Clementia*, or selections from the *Epistulae Morales*.

Pliny : select letters.

*Verse* : Plautus or Terence : one or two plays.

Vergil : some of the *Eclogues* and *Georgics*.

## (B) ON THE TEACHING OF LATIN IN SCHOOLS WITH A LEAVING AGE OF ABOUT SIXTEEN<sup>1</sup>

Hitherto in this Report we have had mainly in view those schools where the leaving age is eighteen or nineteen, and to which boys proceed from preparatory schools where both Latin and

<sup>1</sup> In the preparation of this part of the Report the Committee has had the assistance of a Sub-Committee consisting of the Rev. Canon Bell (Chairman), Mr. A. E. Holme, Mr. W. F. Witton.

French are included in the curriculum. There exists, however, a large and increasing number of secondary schools of which the pupils, to a great extent, receive their early education in public elementary schools up to the age of twelve or thirteen, afterwards proceeding to the secondary schools for three or four years. Some valuable facts relating to the teaching of languages in such schools will be found in a report submitted to the Committee by Mr. F. Roscoe and reproduced in an appendix below (p. 110).

When it is remembered that on entering the secondary school the pupils have usually no knowledge of any language but their own, and must begin the study of mathematics, science, and other non-literary subjects, it is plain that the complete and systematic study of Latin, both linguistically and as literature, which is both desirable and attainable under the conditions of the schools hitherto dealt with in the Report, will be quite out of the question in schools of this type.

Yet the teaching of Latin by such methods as will lead to results of permanent value at the close of a boy's career is desirable in such schools. The study of Latin gives a training in clearness of thought and accuracy of expression not easily obtained from the study of a modern language, introduces the pupil to the life of the ancients, is a necessary preliminary to the study of the origin of modern institutions, and assists in the comprehension of English literature.

The study of Latin in such schools has, in the past, met with the opposition of many parents, largely because on the older system of teaching the average boy rarely gained any real knowledge of the language in the time allowed. It will, therefore, be necessary rigorously to limit the scope of the work attempted to what can reasonably be accomplished in the time available—not more than four or five lessons a week for three or four years.

If in this time some tangible results could be attained by the average boy, such as the power of reading the easier Latin authors and some acquaintance with Roman life and history, the subject would be more popular than it has been hitherto.

We therefore recommend that in these schools Latin should be taught with a view to the intelligent reading of the easier Latin authors, and to supplying that discipline in clear and



accurate thought which is not so readily obtained from the study of a modern language.

It is specially important to ignore all that is uncommon in grammar, and to ensure a thorough knowledge of the grammatical forms and constructions commonly occurring in the authors read, and not to use composition except as a means of understanding and remembering these forms and constructions. To gain these ends a scheme of work is recommended of which the following may be taken as a sample :—

*1st year.*—A Reader with grammar and exercises based on the text and systematically graduated.

*2nd year.*—Simplified narrative passages from Latin prose authors, with graduated exercises as before.

*3rd year.*—Easy portions of Caesar and Cicero, with selections from Tibullus or Ovid, together with grammar and exercises as before.

*4th year.*—*Whole* books selected from the works of the following authors—Cicero, Livy, Tacitus (*Agricola*), and Vergil. Some letters of Pliny and Odes of Horace may be read. Or the books set for a Matriculation Examination.

The standard aimed at should be that of the Senior Local Examinations, or of University Matriculation or Preliminary Examinations; and this would generally be reached by those who had passed through the fourth year's course satisfactorily. It is important that, after the first year, reference should constantly be made to a simple manual of accidence and syntax.

We are of opinion that not less than four periods a week should be devoted to Latin, and strongly urge one lesson a day where possible. The suggestion has been made that time might be saved for this purpose if the formal teaching of English grammar were combined with that of the Latin grammar and dispensed with as a separate subject.

A difficulty will arise in co-ordinating the work of elementary school pupils with that of the boys who have been in the preparatory department of the secondary school itself, since the latter will usually have learnt some French, if not some Latin, before the age of twelve. This difficulty is obviated in most schools by a separate classification for Latin and French, at any rate in the lower forms, by which means also the boys may

## REPORT OF THE CURRICULA COMMITTEE 109

be taken in smaller numbers for languages than for other subjects. The elementary stages of learning are the most important, and the work should be entrusted to the most competent and experienced teachers. Such teachers are at present few in the schools we are considering, but, as in the case of the newer methods of teaching French, the demand will doubtless create the supply.

(Signed)

E. A. SONNENSCHIEIN (*Chairman*).

G. C. BELL.

R. M. BURROWS.

W. C. COMPTON.

ETHEL GAVIN (*Representative of the Head Mistresses' Association*).

J. GOW (*Representative of the Head Masters' Conference*).

A. E. HOLME.

A. F. HORT.

E. D. MANSFIELD (*Representative of the Preparatory Schools Association*).

G. G. A. MURRAY.

J. A. NAIRN.

T. E. PAGE.

W. E. P. PANTIN.

A. B. RAMSAY.

W. H. D. ROUSE.

ADELE F. E. SANDERS (*Representative of the Assistant Mistresses' Association*).

LUCY SILCOX.

R. D. SWALLOW (*Representative of the Head Masters' Association*).

W. F. WITTON (*Representative of the Assistant Masters' Association*).

C. COOKSON (*Secretary*).

## APPENDIX

*By Mr. F. Roscoe, Master of Method in the Day Training  
College of the University of Birmingham*

SCHOOLS have been established in large numbers during the past three years by county and borough authorities for the purpose of affording provision for boys and girls up to the age of sixteen or thereabouts, and also to furnish a means of training pupil teachers in accordance with the new requirements of the Board of Education. Such schools are recruited mainly from the primary schools of their districts, schemes of scholarships and exhibitions having been set up for the purpose of enabling promising pupils to continue their schooling.

The teaching of Latin to such pupils as these has been found to be attended by considerable difficulty. The teachers almost unanimously ascribe this to the fact that the children coming up from the primary school are imperfectly grounded in English grammar and find it impossible to understand the meaning of ordinary terms, such as passive and active, indirect object, or even subject and predicate. Thus a considerable time has to be spent at the start in giving the most rudimentary instruction on these points.

This state of things is largely due to the fact that for some years there has been a reaction against formal grammar in the primary schools. Whereas formerly the pupils were set to learn grammar in the second standard, beginning at the age of eight and continuing throughout the course, there have latterly been not a few schools where grammar was not taught at all. The old system led to much meaningless drudgery for the children, but the new one leads to endless difficulties in the teaching of composition. A better plan than either is followed in some schools, where the formal grammar teaching is deferred until the pupils are eleven or twelve. It is then found possible to teach the subject intelligently and with profit.

If this plan were universal in the primary schools it would be possible to begin with French, and later to take up Latin in the secondary schools with less waste of time than is involved now. Since these schools have been established so recently, it is not possible to say much concerning the actual results of their work in Latin ; but making allowance for the lack of preparation in the pupils, I have found that in Oldbury, where a secondary school was established in 1904, considerable progress has been made. It is also worth noting that the teaching of Latin has met with no opposition from the parents, although these are mostly working-class folk, living a strenuous life in the Black Country.

Already there are signs that the teaching of Latin in these schools

is likely to have a marked effect on the pupil teachers who are trained there. In training colleges attached to the new Universities the course in arts affords the best opportunity to the intending teacher, but hitherto science has been preferred, owing to the fact that Latin was required for arts. Now, however, we find that candidates are preparing themselves for the arts course, and in a few years there will probably be a supply of teachers for the primary schools who will have had a training in grammar and literature. This ought to react on the grammar teaching and serve to remove the great difficulty which I have described.

As an immediate measure it might be useful to persuade the authorities of these schools to exact a higher standard of grammar at their entrance examinations. Also there is need of some outline text-book on the lines of the Parallel Grammars to secure uniformity of terminology as far as possible. Unless this is done we are in danger of substituting confusion for ignorance.

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#### RESOLUTIONS

On the basis of the above facts and suggestions the Committee submits the following resolutions for the consideration of the general meeting of the Classical Association :

1. That it is not desirable to begin the school study of two foreign languages, ancient or modern, at or about the same time.

2. That in the earliest stage of teaching Latin and Greek the teacher should aim at making his pupils very familiar with such words, inflexions and constructions as occur most commonly in the authors, and especially the first author, to be read at school.

3. That the scheme of reading in Latin and Greek authors should be carefully organized and graduated with a view (1) to the selection of such authors as are suitable in respect of both their language and their subject-matter to different stages of learning, (2) to the literary and historical value of the authors or parts of authors selected.



## STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS,

*Credit and Receipts.*

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Investments to January 1st, 1907 ( <i>cost</i> ) ...	338	15	0			
Cash balance ... ..	216	17	4			
Credit with Mr. Murray ... ..		12	2			
Total credit, January, 1907 ... ..	...	...		606	4	6
Entrance fees (101) ... ..	197	15	0			
Subscriptions for 1905 (12) ... ..						
„ „ 1906 (89) ... ..						
„ „ 1907 (507) ... ..						
„ „ 1908 (42) ... ..						
„ „ 1909-12 (40) ... ..						
Extra payments... ..		2	6			
304 subscriptions for 1906 and 1907 paid						
direct to the bank... ..	76	0	0			
Life compositions ... ..	46	15	0			
American subscriptions ... ..	1	10	6			
Total subscriptions paid in 1907 ... ..	...	...		322	3	0
Copies of <i>The Year's Work</i> bought at 1s. 9d. ... ..	...	...		24	17	0
Dividends, New Zealand Stock ... ..	9	12	10			
Interest on deposit ... ..	3	15	5			
Total interest, July, 1906, to July 1st, 1907 ... ..	...	...		13	8	3

Audited and found correct,  
*(Signed)* W. E. P. PANTIN.

£966 12

JANUARY 1<sup>ST</sup> TO DECEMBER 31<sup>ST</sup>, 1907.

<i>Expenditure.</i>						£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Printing and stationery (general)	...	...	...	...	...	28	9	10			
" " " (special)	...	...	...	...	...	3	17	5			
									32	7	3
Postage	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	12	1	5
Clerical assistance	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	34	6	9
Travelling expenses of members of Council...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	28	7	6
<i>Proceedings</i> , January, 1906	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	62	11	7
Cambridge Meeting (general expenses *)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	30	13	6
Capitation grants to Manchester Branch	...	...	...	...	...	3	0	0			
" " " Birmingham "	...	...	...	...	...	10	0				
Bankers' charges on cheques	...	...	...	...	...	1	0				
Returns (subscriptions paid in error)	...	...	...	...	...	10	0				
									4	1	0
Paid to the Publisher for <i>The Year's Work</i> , 1906	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	64	0	3
Total expenses for the year to December 31 <sup>st</sup> , 1907 †						...	...	...	268	9	3
Balance in bank	...	...	...	...	...	143	5	8			
Less cheques not presented	...	...	...	...	...	31	18	2			
Total cash balance						...	...	...	111	7	6
Investments :—											
£289 18s. 5d. New Zealand 3½% Stock...	...	...	...	...	...	288	15	0			
£200 India 3½% Stock	...	...	...	...	...	198	1	0			
£100 Deposit Chartered Bank	...	...	...	...	...	100	0	0			
Total investments						...	...	...	586	16	0

\* Exclusive of £7 13s. for reporting.

† Exclusive of cost of *Proceedings*, October, 1906, £45 16s. 3d. ; and £7 10s. for clerical assistance—accounts which came in too late.31<sup>st</sup> December, 1907.(Signed) C. FLAMSTEAD WALTERS,  
Hon. Treasurer.

£966 12 9

## Supplement to the Balance Sheet

### ACCOUNTS FOR "THE YEAR'S WORK," VOL. I. (As far as concerns the Association)

#### *Receipts.*

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
283 subscriptions from members, per Prof.						
Sonnenschein ... ..	24	15	3			
1 subscription, per Treasurer ... ..		1	9			
	<hr/>			24	17	0

#### *Expenditure.*

Payments to the Publisher:						
Commission on 250 sales ...	...	...	12	10	0	
Part payment to staff of contributors ...	...	...	26	15	0	
283 subscriptions at 1s. 9d. ...	...	...	24	15	3	
			<hr/>			64 0 3
			<hr/>			
*Deficit, being loss to the Association ...	...	...	...	39	3	3

\* This does not include the cost of posting notices to members.

## ·APPENDIX





*The following address was written by Dr. Postgate and presented on behalf of the Classical Association by Dr. Ashby, Director of the British School at Rome, to the Società Italiana per la diffusione e l'incoraggiamento degli Studi Classici, at its second meeting, held in Rome in April, 1906.*

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ITALORVM LITTERARVM GRAECARVM ET LATINARVM  
FAVTO RV M ET VINDICVM SOCIETATEM  
BRITANNORVM QVIBVS IDEM PROPOSITVM SOCIETAS  
SALVERE IVBET.

Raro certe atque opportuno Fortunae utimur beneficio quod eo ipso tempore quo Vos alterum iam conuentum acturi estis paucis de nostro numero—uellemus quidem plures: sed plures ne essent incommoda negotiosis hoc anno ratio temporum prohibuit—Romam vestram illam urbium omnium dominam pulcherrimam inuisere contigit ut non solum animo atque cogitatione absentes sed praesentes quoque nonnulli inceptis Vestris faueamus.

Vt de factis primum Vobis gratulemur, ut in futurum prospera ac felicia omnia exoptemus, suadet illa iam omnibus nota Britannorum Italarumque amicitia. cuius ecquod insignius testimonium adferri poterit quam illud Vestratium aetate atque usu comprobatum ac firmatum prouerbium

*bella ubiuis gerenda:  
cum Britannis pax tenenda?*

suadent communia nobiscum studia, communis ueterum monumentorum cum amor tum reuerentia, commune denique non aliena auertendi sed nostra atque adeo totius orbis terrarum bona conseruandi pium ac legitimum consilium. in fine rem illam nolumus praeterire quae, si non maximi momenti, tamen ne minimi quidem

est cum nostra Vobiscum commercia proxime attingat, prauum istum morem uerba Latina pronuntiandi

*qui penitus toto diuiserat orbe Britannos*

iam in eo esse ut effluat atque obsolescat. quod, Societatis nostrae opera maximam partem effectum, Vobis quoque placitum satis confidimus ut nihil iam uerendum sit, quod Platonius ille Socrates uereri se dicit, ne uideamur ὑπὸ φιλολογίας ἀγροικίεσθαι, προθυμούμενοι ἡμᾶς ποιῆσαι διαλέγεσθαι καὶ φίλους τε καὶ προσηγόρους ἀλλήλοις γίγνεσθαι.

Valete atque in studia uniuerso hominum generi profutura feliciter, sicut coepistis, incumbitote.

LONDINIO DATVM MENSE MARTIO EXEVNTE A. S. MDCCCCVII

[The Italian proverb referred to is :

Col mondo tutto guerra

E pace con Inghilterra.]







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